K.L. Krishnamurthy to Secy. appln 2 pp
for S.N. Kamat

94

Paper No.IV

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

FORTY FIFTH SESSION

THE ACADEMIC SESSION:
PAPER FOR DISCUSSION

2ND FEBRUARY, 1977

1 Early work - Hopkins address

2 R.K. Mookerjee. Aspects Hindu civ

3 K.R.R. Sastry Social Polit Ideals

4 Banking Enqy. Com 30's

5 Anc Public Hist Epigraphic Indians, Sabarmati + Nagpur + Mahabharata

6 oral hist project to preserve + Nationalist chiefs.

Nil.

MYSORE

G. S. Dikshit

115/465 Le Guilloux Nagarseté - Nagar Bibliography -

Last of Mr Nagarseté's

oral hist project survey to preserve guard only

C O N T E N T S

			Page
1.	Prof.G.H.Khare Nimbalkars of Phaltan	...	1
2.	Shri S.A.I.Tirmizi Protests against Aurangzeb's Poll-Tax	...	7
3.	Prof. Amba Prasad Commercial Connection of India with a British Colony - A Case Study of Indo-Cape Trade, 1797-1802	...	18
4.	Dr.K.Rajayyan Srivangam and Tiruchirapalli Proclamations of Marudu Pandyan	...	30
5.	Dr.D.P.Bhattacharya Rama Deb Roy (Malakar) Khanasumari Records and the Statistical System of India	...	34
6.	Dr.R.N.Mehra The Anglo-Turkish Dispute of 1872-75 over the Aden Hinterland and its Relevance	...	47
7.	Dr.Surendra Gopal Revenue Roll Registers - an Aid for Quantitative study of Agrarian History of Bihar in the Nineteenth Century	...	55
8.	Dr.Prithwindra Mukherjee Jatin Mukherjee (1879-1915) and-German Conspiracy (1914-1918)	...	59
9.	Mr.M.I.Moir Newly Discovered Archival Material in the India Office Records relating to the Post 1600 period of Indian History	...	72

NIMBALKARS OF PHALTAN

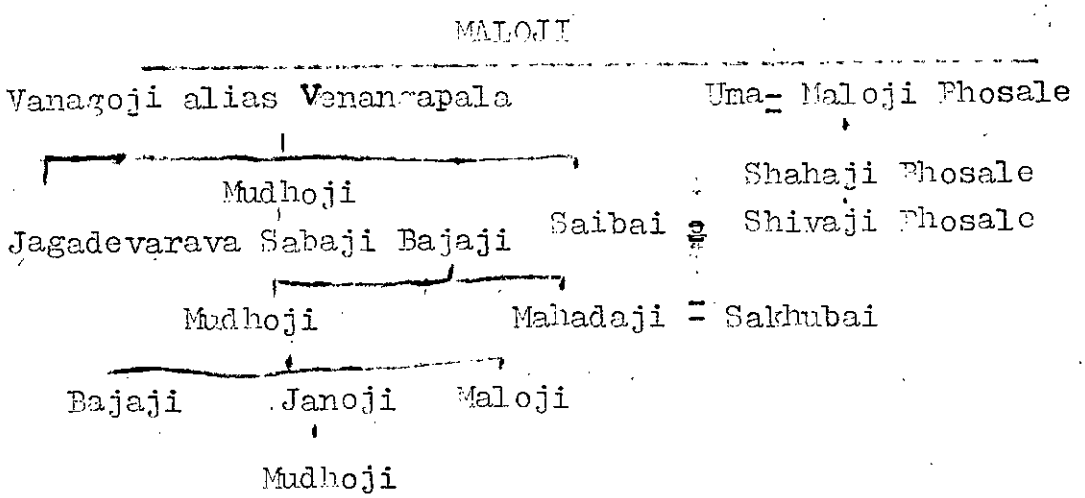
Prof. G.H.Khare, Pune

1. Nimbalkar of Phaltan (District Satara) is a well known, very old Maratha family originating in the pre-Shivaji period i.e. in the 16th century at least, if not earlier. The family claims its descent from the Paramaras of Malwa and therefore bore the surname Pawar originally. This family has a very long line of ancestors which it is difficult to believe in, unless supported by original genuine records. It is, however, certain that Maloji Bhosale, the grand-father of Shivaji, the great, had his wife by name Uma from this family. The Bhosale family of Shivaji, the great, had first its devotion towards Ghrsnesvara, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas of India, known to Hindus in general and Saivas in particular, as Babaji Bhosale, the great-grand-father of Shivaji lived in the same village, where Ghrsnesvara is enshrined; but after the marriage of Maloji with Uma, in addition to that of Ghrsnesvara this Bhosale family began to have devotion towards god Siva of Sikhara Singanapur (District Satara) which is at a short distance (say 32 K.M) to the South of Phaltan.

2. The god Siva of this place is said to have migrated from Saurastra and is, therefore, another form of Somanatha of Saurastra. When this god migrated to Sikhara Singanapur, situated on a high spur of the Sahya range, there was no water to drink and no trees to sit under their shade there. It was all a barren plateau. But out of singular devotion to this god, Maloji excavated a tank at this place to be filled in with rain water. Maloji's son Shahji, Shivaji, the great, and his descendents had the same kind of devotion towards this god as shown by Maloji; and Shahaji managed to get the township of this place as inam to him from the then Adilshah of Bijapur, in order that the best arrangements of the worship of that god could be made. Shivaji had his senior most wife Saibai from this very Nimbalkar family and he got his daughter born of Saibai married to Mahadaji, the son of Bajaji Nimbalkar his brother-in-law. Though Bhosale family was thus closely related to this Nimbalkar family by matrimonial connections both Shahaji and Shivaji, the great, had to fight with some members of this family for reasons unknown.

3. Raja Maloji Naik Nimbalkar, the present male heir of that family and the president of the general body of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona twice or thrice remarked, when I met him, that he had entrusted the Persian records in his possession to the Mandala. Every time I was rather vexed, as I was under the impression that in my long service in the Mandala I had never come across those records. But this year, the caretaker of the archives of the Mandala, all of a sudden brought to my notice a bundle of records which belonged to this family. When I began to examine them, I found that they were numbered in my own hand. But somehow or other, I altogether forgot the fact that our president had handed over these documents to the Mandala. This collection has in it 16 documents, out of which one is a Marathi one, in modi script and the remaining 15 are in Persian. But of these 15 Persian documents 8 are Adilshahi farmans (Nos. 13, 11, 10, 12, 8, 7, 14, 9) and seven are Mughal ones (Nos. 3, 5, 1, 4, 6, 2, 15). Though the ancestors of the Nimbalkar family had tried their best to preserve these documents by backing almost all with silk cloth, a number of these documents have given way and are torn to pieces. I had to paste them together with great difficulty.

4. I give below the pedigree of this family useful for knowing the documents better,



5. The earliest of these records (No.13) is an Adilshahi farman dated the 9th of Rajjab 1044 H. (20th December 1634 A.D) and bears the seal of Muhammad Adilshah. Its purport runs thus: Muhammadkhan should know that he has been ordered to proceed with his cavalry

in excess of the number 75, to help Mudho Pandita. He should, therefore, immediately on receipt of this farman report himself with his cavalry to Mudho Pandita. He should, in co-operation with that Pandita, render commendable service to this Kingdom which will result in his prosperity. He should well remember that it would be to his discredit if he hesitates and delays in abiding by this farman.

6. The next (No.11) is also an Adilshahi farman dated the 14th of Shawwal 1049 H. (28th January 1640). Here Bajaji, the Desai of pargana Phaltan has been ordered thus. At present the representative of Bahlulkhan has represented to the Court that this Pargana was given to the above mentioned Khan; but Bajaji with the help of 150 horsemen and infantry as well as the Patels and Kulkarnis of the Pargana has closed the boundaries of the pargana and would not allow any government work to be done by him. What an impertinence is this? Immediately on receipt of this farman he should recede back his steps and allow the servants of Bahlulkhan to do their duties.

7. Next in order (No.10) is an Adilshahi farman dated 13 Rabi-ul-awwal 1040 H. (23rd June 1040 A.D.). This farman is addressed to Bajaji (Nimbalkar) and is to the following effect. Bajaji has been conferred on the Sardeshmukhi and Sarnadgaudaki of the pargana of Phaltan on condition of paying as nazar 175 hons for the former right and 75 hons for the latter right, thus 250 hons all together.

8. No.12 is also an Adilshahi farman and is dated 1 Shawwal 1050 H. (3rd January 1641 A.D.). In this farman Bajaji, the Desai of the pargana of Phaltan included in that of Kalhar (Karad dist Satara) has been ordered, as decided before, to pay as salary to the six goldsmiths connected with the treasury and one servant connected with the elephant stables, as per the following details:- Channamal Viranna 300 Hons, Basavanna 250 Hons, Girmaji Timaji 100 Hons and Vanaskankar Narayan, Kankanna Gondia and Naganna Sivappa 50 Hons each. Thus all total 1000 Hons. Now you pay these amounts to the respective persons.

9. The next Adilshahi farman (no.8) has been addressed to the officers and Desais of the pargana of Phaltan included in that of Kalhar (Karad, Dist. Satara) and is dated the 19th of Shaban, Shuhur Year 1042 (13th November 1641 A.D.). This farman

relates thus: The pargana of Phaltan has been taken back from Sabaji Mudhoji Nimbalkar and has been given to Bajaji Mudhoji Nimbalkar as before. But it has not as yet been given in possession of Bajaji. The miras of the Desgat (Desaigiri) of this pargana though given to Bajaji, you are not giving charge of the same to him. What a daring act is this? Immediately on receipt of this farman you should hand over this pargana to Bajaji and all the Government duties of Desaigiri should be accomplished through him as per rules. The amount to be taken as nazar from him should be handed over to the goldsmiths connected with the treasury. Moreover, Manhoji, the Patel of Dargaon has revolted and foiled trouble with the help of Sabaji (Nimbalkar). You should chastise him so that he revolts not again.

10. The next Adilshahi farman (No.7) is dated the 8th of Ramadan 1051 H. (2nd December 1641 A.D.) and is addressed to the officers of the pargana of Phaltan. Its gist runs thus: Mudhoji, the son of Vanangapala, Desai and Sardesai of the above mentioned pargana has applied to the Court and intimated him that having assembled his dependents gave out his intention that he wished to partition his belongings and his Watan among his sons, so that they should not have any plausible cause for family feud. Jagadevarao and Sabaji the eldest and the youngest sons respectively got the belongings, horses, elephants, treasury, precious stones and clothes; Bajaji was given the Desagat and the Sardesagat and the service to the government without partitioning. Documents were prepared and were seen by the Court. Now the above mentioned Desagat, Sardesagat and patelgis have been conferred on Bajaji without any right to the property of the two brothers. Here are given the details of what Bajaji received. All this should be continued to Bajaji; Jagadevarao and Sabaji had no rights in the possessions of Bajaji.

11. No.14 is also an Adilshahi farman dated the 10th Ziqada 1051 H. (31st January 1642 A.D.). Herein Bajaji Nimbalkar has been ordered thus: As Anbar of Dandarajapuri has revolted, Asadkhan has been specially appointed on that affair (for quenching the revolt). Bajaji should report to the Khan with all haste and take part in the expedition. He will be awarded all that which the Khan would recommend to this Court after taking into account his devoted service to the cause.

12. No. 9 is the last Adilshahi farman and is dated the 29th Rajjab 1063 H. (16th June 1653 A.D.). This farman has been addressed to the Hawaldar, Mankun and other officers and connected others. In this record it is said that presently Bajaji Naik Nimbalkar represented to the Court that he was holding the Deshmukhi and Sardesai as miras (hereditary occupation) as also an inam of 5 villages and 4 Chavars of land each in 16 villages. But now the officers ask for a new farman to the above effect. This petition of his was taken into consideration and he has been given the said miras and inam. The officers should continue this miras and inam to him as before.

13. No.3 and 5 are two Mughal farman dated 5 Jamadi-ul-akhir regnal year 45 of Almgir I (26th October 1701 A.D.). The first is addressed to Malu (Maloji Nimbalkar) and the second to Paja (Bajaji Nimbalkar). Both of them have the same gist as follows:- At present you have requested through Munim Khan that you wish to beg pardon for your own past offences and you wish to serve the emperor with all devotion after repenting for the past deeds. You should at once come to the Court upon which your sins and mistakes would be pardoned and you would be honoured with a deserving mansab and the present of a horse and an elephant.

14. No.1 and No.4 are also Mughal farmans dated the 30th Rabi-ul-akhir regnal year 4 of Shah Alam I (31st May 1710 A.D.). The first is addressed to Bajaji and the second to Janoji (both Nimbalkars) and they purport to the same effect thus: Your petition has been seen by the emperor. After imperial favour has been honoured with 5000 Zat and 5000 Savar as also with highly priced dress, horse, elephant, drum banner and Rs. fifty thousand in cash. You should be thankful for this. You should report to Daudkhan (Panni), the subahdar of the Deccan and show progress in imperial service. Nusratjang will represent to the Court about the favour of jagir etc. to be given to your relatives and other accompanying persons.

15. No.6 is also a Mughal farman dated 20 Rabi-ul-akhir regnal year 1 of Shah Alam I and is addressed to Janu (Janoji Nimbalkar). Its gist runs thus: Your request about devoted service in the past and in the future has been gone through, and your expectations have been noted. Hidayatkishkhan has been

ordered to pay attention to your points. On receiving this farman you should see me with your expectations and you will be rewarded with imperial favour.

16. No.2 is a Mughal farman dated 29th Rajjab- of regnal year 7 of Ahmad Shah. Its purport runs thus: The pargana of Phaltan included in the Sarkar of Raibag and the Subah of Bijapur was given as inam to Mahadaji Nimbalkar in the reign of Khuldmakan (Alamgir I). Presently it is in the possession of his progeny. Now it should be continued in the name of Mudhoji the son of Janoji and the grandson of Mahadaji.

17. No.15 appears to be a Mughal document; but it is so much torn that it is impossible to make out any meaning of the document even when the torn portions are pieced together.

Seminar Indica's past & present. 1905-6-7.

PROTESTS AGAINST AURANGZEB'S POLL-TAX

S.A.I. TIRMIZI, New Delhi

Scanning through the records of the British Museum[1] and India Office[2] during my recent visit to London, I was somewhat intrigued to find yet another copy of the Persian document protesting against reimposition of Jizya or Poll-tax by Aurangzeb. The authorship of this document is attributed to Sobha Singh. Three other copies of this document with slight modification, have come down to us. One is preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London[3]; second in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Calcutta[4] and third in the ex-Maharana's Confidential Office at Udaipur.[5] The Royal Asiatic Society ascribes it to Shivaji the Asiatic Society of Bengal to Sambbhaji and the Maharana's Confidential Office to Raj Singh of Mewar.

II

This document was first made known to Europe by Robert Orme who attributes it to Jaswant Singh of Marwar,[6] James Tod[7] and Kaviraj Shyamal Das[7] are of the opinion that it was written by Raj Singh of Mewar. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar,[8] Professor S.R.Sharma,[9] Dr. G.N.Sharma[10] and Dr. U.N.Day[11] ascribe it to Shivaji. Based on this last version a theory has been propounded that 'Akbar and not Rama was the ideal of Shivaji.'[12] Intrigued by the attribution of almost the same document to as many as five persons it is incumbent on us to examine the authentifity of this document in the light of external and internal evidence and this can not be done without scrutinizing the document which is reproduced hereunder.

All due praise be rendered to the glory of Almighty and munificence of your majesty, which is as conspicuous as the sun and moon. Although, separated from your sublime presence, your well-wisher is nevertheless zealous in the performance of every bounden act of obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenuous services are employed to promote the prosperity of the sultans, khans, mirs, mirzas, rajas and roys of the territory of Hindustan and the chiefs of Iran, Turan, Rum and Sham as also to the inhabitants of the seven climes and all persons travelling by land and by sea. This my inclination is well-known. Nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt thereof. In view, therefore, of my former services, and your majesty's condenscension, I presume to solicit the royal attention to certain circumstances in which the public as well as private welfare is greatly involved.

I have been informed that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your well wisher and that you have ordered a tribute to be levied by way of jizya to satisfy the exigencies of your exhausted treasury. May it please your majesty that your royal ancestor Muhammad Jalal ud Din Akbar, lodged in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for fifty two years, preserving every type of man in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus or Moses, David or Muhammad, Brahmins or Dharias, Asrias or Sevras. He followed the unique path of Sulh i kul or universal peace to such an extent that the people in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection afforded them, distinguished

him by the appellation of Jagat guru (World's Spiritual Guide). Similarly his majesty Muhammad Nur ud Din Jahangir, residing in heaven, extended for a period of twenty two years the shadow of his protection over the heads of his people; successful by constant fidelity to his allies and a vigorous exertion of his arms in business. Nor less did his majesty Sahib Qiran-i-Sani (Lord of Conjunction) Shah Jahan, dwelling in paradise, by a propitious reign of thirty two years, acquired to himself immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue.

Such were the benevolent policies of your ancestors. Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles, wheresoever they directed their steps, conquests and prosperity went ahead of them; they subjugated many territories and fortresses. During your majesty's reign many have, however, been alienated from the empire and further loss of territory must necessarily follow since devastation and rapine now universally prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When indigence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and princes, what can be the condition of the nobles? The soldiery murmurs, merchants grumble, Musalmans disgruntled, Hindus destitute, and the multitude of people reduced to such a plight that even for a square meal they have to beat their heads throughout the day in rage and desperation.

How can the dignity be maintained of the sovereign who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from the people

thus reduced to penury? The word has gone round the world that the emperor of Hindustan coveting the beggars' bowl exacts jizya from the poor Sevras, Bairagis, Sanyasis regardless of the illustrious honour of the house of Timur, and condescends to exercise his power over the soldiery inoffensive ancohoret.

If your majesty places any faith in these books, called divine, you will there be instructed that God is styled Rabbul alamin (Lord of all men) and not Rabbul Muslimin (Lord of Muslims) only. Verily paganism and Islam are juxtapoised in His presence. Distinctions of colour are of his ordination. It is He Who gives existence. In mosques to His name the call for prayer is given. In temples the bell is rung in yearning for Him. To vilify the religion and customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of Almighty. Defacement of a picture will naturally incur the displeasure of the painter and rightly has the poet sung:

"Disparage not anything ye behold, be it bad, be it good",
Finding fault with artefact tantamounts to Craftsman's criticism"

In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindus is repugnant to justice; politically it can be allowed only if a handsome woman wearing golden ornaments can move from one part of the country to the other without any fear but now a days even cities are plundered. What should I say of the country side? Moreover it is an innovation and infringement of the laws of Hindustan. If zeal for your own religion has induced you to determine upon this measure, the demand ought by the rules of equity to have been made first upon Ram Singh 13 who is esteemed the principal amongst the Hindus. Then let your

well-wisher be called upon with whom you will have less difficulty to encounter; but to torment ants and flies is unworthy of a heroic or generous mind. It is indeed astonishing that the ministers of your government should have neglected to advise your Majesty to the rules of rectitude and honour."

IV

Sobha Singh to whom the British Museum and India Office ascribe this document can be identified with the Talukdar of Chitwa and Bardha (then part of Burdwan) who is reported to have taken up arms against the Mughal Government in 1696 A.D.[14] when his relations with the Mughals were estranged but the jizya was imposed by Aurangzeb on Wednesday, 1st Rabi I/2nd April, 1679 A.D.[15] The question is naturally posed: Why did Sobha Singh take as many as seven years to lodge a protest against the imposition of jizya? Moreover, Sobha Singh was a petty zamindar and as such could not be credited with the tall claims made by the author of the document. It cannot, therefore, be ascribed to Sobha Singh. Nor could it be attributed to Jaswant Singh of Marwar who had passed away on 10th December 1678 A.H.[16] about three months before the jizya was imposed. Similarly it could not be ascribed to Sambhaji who was not entitled to all that has been claimed in the document. Moreover disaffected with his father he had joined the Mughal camp on 13th December 1678 A.H. and was given the rank of hafthazari and the title of Raja[17] which he enjoyed till 23rd November 1679 A.D. when he quitted the Mughal camp.[18] Thus he continued to support Aurangzeb for more than six months after the imposition of the jizya. Likewise his father

Shivaji could not be the author of this document, in view of the internal and external evidence. How could Shivaji, who had declared himself as Chhatrapati or paramount sovereign in 1674 A.D.,[19] profess 'loyalty' and 'obedience' to Aurangzeb in 1679 A.D.? What services did Shivaji render for the welfare of the Mughal Government? How far were these services known to the rulers of Iran, Turan, Rum, Sham and the inhabitants of the seven climes as claimed in the document? Is there any external evidence to prove that Aurangzeb had demanded jizya from Shivaji who was a sovereign ruler and not a zimmi or protected subject expected to pay the poll-tax? If the answer is 'no' then Shivaji could not be considered the author of this document. Similarly it is not possible to ascribe it to Raj Singh for three reasons. Firstly no contemporary Rajput source refers to the remonstration of the Rana against the jizya. Had there been such a remonstration the local annalists would not have failed to make a mention of it.[20] Secondly soon after the imposition of the jizya Raj Singh is reported to have sent Prince Jai Singh and Garibdas, the chief priest, to the imperial court where they were well received by Aurangzeb who sent them back with khilat or robe of honour, a necklace , an elephant, a horse and a farman for the Rana on 30 April, 1679 A.D.[21] Thirdly the document under discussion does not bear at the top the legend huwal Ghalib (He is Supreme) which was the sarnameh or superscription employed by Raj Singh in his Persian letters.[22]

V

If this document can not be ascribed to any of these five persons then who could be its author? The document bears

neither the name of the writer, nor his seal, nor the date of transcription as was the practice in those days. Nor does it possess peculiar form of address or conclusion as required by the documentation canons of the time. Moreover Akbar and Jahangir are wrongly referred to as Muhammad Jalalud Din Akbar and Muhammad Nurud Din Jahangir instead of Jalulud Din Muhammad Akbar and Nurud Din Muhammad Jahangir. What is more striking is the fact that the posthumous titles of these two emperors are followed by their names, and Shah Jahan has been referred to by his life-time title of Sahib Qiran i Sani only. This is absolutely against the diplomatic practices of the period. In those days it was considered height of impropriety to mention the emperors, princes or princesses by name. In life the emperors were designated as the Khalifa or Caliph, Zillullah or shadow of God etc. and after death by distinct posthumous titles, all meaning lodged in heaven, as mentioned hereunder:

Emperor	Posthumous title
Babur	Firdausmakani
Humayun	Jannat ashyani
Akbar	Arsh ashyani
Jahangir	Jannat makani
Shah Jahan	Firdaus ashyani

23

In the circumstances mentioned above a big question mark naturally hangs over the authenticity of this document. If its genuineness is doubted then two questions are naturally posed: When was it fabricated? What could be the motivation behind such fabrication? The document was first brought to light, by Robert Orme (1760-1835 A.D.) who included it in his Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire which was published

in 1782 A.D. when he was Historiographer to the East India Company (1764-1801 A.D.).[24] It would, therefore, not be wrong to conclude that the document might have been fabricated about the seventies of the 18th century. This seems to have been the work of some politician who chose this way of providing documentary evidence in support of the protests made against the poll-tax and attributed it to such Hindu rulers who were for one reason or the other aggrieved by Aurangzeb.

VI

The reimposition of the poll-tax evoked protests not only from the Hindus but also from the Muslims. We are told that when Aurangzeb rode out on an elephant to say his Friday prayers, people blocked his path from the Fort to Jame Masjid. When all attempts failed he ordered the elephants to be driven through the crowd trampling underfoot many of the protestants. This demonstration continued for several days and many demonstrators lost their lives.[25] The imposition of the jizya was opposed by a section of the royalty including Prince Muhammad Akbar, Prince Muazzam and Prince Azam.[26] Jahanara Begam, the eldest sister of Aurangzeb considered it politically inexpedient. Appealing to her brother to revise his decision she is reported to have said, "Just think, Sire, that the lands of Hindustan are like a vast ocean; your majesty and all the other members of our royal family are like ships navigating its waters and ploughing through its waves. Where is there any sovereign prince who would desire to load with imposts the sea on which he sails? Who has ever seen the physician pay the patient? From this reasoning I conclude, with your majesty's permission, that if the sick man has to pay the physician who cures him;

if the ships and the sailors must always try to render the seas favourable and pacific towards them in order to navigate with success and arrive happily at port; in the same way your majesty ought to appease and soften the ocean of your subjects. For in what way can you expect them to pay taxes if you overburden them and provoke their waves by this unaccustomed demand? Abandon, then, Sire, this purpose, lest there be a rebellion in this kingdom. Let your majesty reflect that violent winds usually raise and disturb the seas, swell high their waves, and transform the whole into a terrifying tempest. By its violence everything is swept to the shore, and the poor and persecuted people are ruined."[27] In protesting against the poll-tax Jahanara seems to have the support of a section of the powerful nobility. This is borne out by the fact that Asad Khan and Zulfaqar Khan - primer nobles of Aurangzeb, played a leading role in the abolition of the jizya shortly after the death of Aurangzeb.[28]

VII

In sum, then, the authenticity of the document under discussion is in doubt but the fact can not be denied that the revival of the poll-tax by Aurangzeb did evoke protests from the Hindus and the Muslims who were nurtured in the liberal traditions ushered in by Akbar. This class naturally resented the growing clerical influence in the political affairs in as much as it alienated majority of the Hindus and thereby frustrated its cherished dream of establishing a secular monarchy of sorts broadbased upon religious toleration enshrined as it was in the doctrine of Sulh i Kul or 'Universal Peace' enunciated by Akbar."

References

1. British Museum, London, or 9877.

2. India Office Library and Records, London, 2538.

3. Royal Asiatic Society, London, 71.

4. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 56.

5. James Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, I (London, 1914), p. 302.

6. Robert Orme, Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, (London, 1805), p. 252.

7. Tod, op.cit., p. 302; Kaviraj Shyamal Das, Vir Vinod, Vol. II, p. 462.

8. Jadunath Sarkar, Shivaji and His Times (Calcutta, 1948), pp. 306-09.

9. S.R. Sharma, The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors, (Bombay, 1962), p. 153.

10. G.N. Sharma, Mewar and the Mughal Emperors (Agra, 1954), pp. 164-65.

11. U.N. Day, Some Aspects of Medieval India (Allahabad, 1971), pp. 233-34.

12. Ideas in History (Delhi, 1968), p. 189.

13. Ram Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, succeeded his father in 1666 A.D. T.W. Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary (Calcutta, 1881), p. 221.

14. Calcutta Review, January, 1910, pp. 122-23.

15. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasiri Alamgiri (Calcutta, 1947), p. 108.

16. Ibid., p. 106.

17. Bhim Sen, Tarikhi Dilkusha, Eng. tr. J.N. Sarkar and ed. V.G. Khobrekar (Bombay, 1972), p. 121.

18. Ibid., p. 122.

19. Sarkar, op.cit., p. 207.

20. Sharma (G.N.), op.cit., p. 164.

21. Saqi Mustaid Khan, op.cit., p. 108.

22. Kaviraj Shyamal Das, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 440.

23. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, (Calcutta, 1952), p. 220.

Kaviraj is the acknowledged leading pandit of Banswara who greatly assisted by the knowledge of his ancestors

24. C.E. Buckland, Dictionary of Indian Biography (London, 1906), p. 323.

25. Khafi Khan, Muntakhabul Lubab, in H.M. Elliot and John Dowson's History of India, VII (London, 1877), p. 296.

26. Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, (New Delhi, 1972), pp. 23-24.

27. Niccolas Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, Vol. III (London, 1907), pp. 289-90.

28. Satish Chandra, op.cit., pp. 74, 85.

whether of the 18th or 19th c. it is a good document in 2nd. Nile But it is more likely of the 17th : it is not easy to forge good documents. you may forge a little deed but you can't forge a document which brings out the mind of the people in language which only those who have suffered can express. these words have come from the heart of the people. one may say that Raj Singh or Shivaji may not have written it to prove it. the author may have purposely remained anonymous. If he was found out the vindictive Aurangzeb would punish him & his family. What might have been in the mind of the author was that Aurangzeb knew the feelings of the masses not that the author was get credit for discovering a good record. In fact small and considered mistakes in the document may have been introduced by the author to mislead Aurangzeb from finding out the real author.

All that can be said in favour of this paper that the author conclusively does not disprove that the document was written by Prithvi Singh, Sambhaji, Shivaji & Jaswant Singh or Raj Singh. But it cannot be said to be a forgery. It is an authentic document so far as the expression of the mind of the people in the period of Shivaji & his victories were to make known their feelings to Aurangzeb.

We may compare this with Vidyapati Kavindra, the contemporary of Shah Jahan. At that time the Hindus suffered great hardship owing to the exaction of a pilgrim tax from the Hindus that came to Benares & Prayag

COMMERCIAL CONNECTION OF INDIA WITH A BRITISH COLONY - A CASE STUDY OF INDO-CAPE TRADE, 1797-1802.

Professor Amba Prasad

Some interesting light is thrown by the records available in the National Archives of India, official consultations as well as private papers of Lord Macartney, first Governor of the British possession of the Cape of Good Hope, and the records in the India Office Library, London, in respect of India's trade with this early British Colony.[1] On the basis of these it is possible to form an idea of the nature, value and volume of Indian exports towards the end of the 18th century; the growing demand for Indian manufactured goods as well as foodstuffs on the part of European settlers; the question of shipment of goods from India to the Cape, the problem of re-export and smuggling; East India Company's monopoly of trade versus licenced private trade interests; attention paid to the interest of European settlers, the English as well as the Dutch.

Prior to the British occupation in 1795, the Cape of Good Hope had been a Dutch colony and the Dutch settlers had been attracted to it. The British rule lasted in the first stage from 1795 to 1802, the Colony was lost to the Dutch in 1802 but again, in 1806, the British re-occupied it and ruled it for a century or so. The population (on the basis of a rough census of 1791), comprised of 14,600 white settlers, mostly Dutch, and 17,000 Africans who had no better status than that of slaves of their European masters.[2] Besides, with the British occupation, a British garrison was stationed in the Cape and the British settlers migrated in good number.

II. Indian Commodities needed in the Cape Colony

It may be observed that 'India' trade at this time meant Bengal trade; the bulk of the exports went from the Bengal Presidency, though there was some trade with the two other Presidencies as well. Surat trade was fast giving way to Bengal trade in respect of manufactured goods.[3]

Madras supplied to the Cape Colony grain and other food articles as is shown by the Macartney Papers.[4] Bombay supplied likewise grain, other provisions and timber. One finds in Macartney Papers a complaint about the damaged wheat supplied from Bombay and it caused enormous loss to the Government.[5]

Bengal was the Lancashire of India at this time.[6] As will be seen from the detailed statement given below, Bengal exported manufactured goods, fine, superfine and coarse piecegoods as well as some foodstuffs and other commodities. The documents throw a flood of light on the goods which were very much in demand in the Cape Colony on the part of European population.[7]

In the first year of occupation in 1796 the documents go to show the need for provisions from India such as rice and flour.[8] Next year the list of goods wanted from Bengal for the inhabitants of the Cape Colony included, besides grain and other provisions, a number of items of manufactured goods.

The List for the year 1797[9]

3000	pieces	of dark red Patna Chints with white flowers.
2000	"	of dark red Patna Chints with small coloured flowers.
1000	"	of dark black Patna Chints with very small white flowers.
2000	"	of very fine Patna Chintz.
2000	"	of Beerbhoom Sorrahs.
800	"	of Double thread Sorrahs.

In 1798, the documents give a list of the goods which the Company's Agent at the Cape had desired may be sent upon the Company's account. The list is almost the same as for the year 1797.

A list of goods sent in 1799 by the Board of Trade was as follows:-[10]

5 half pieces of gold and silver - flowered muslin.
6 petticoat pieces.
16 half pieces of flowered muslin.
6 pieces of plain muslin.

13 pieces of striped muslin.
18 pieces of muslin neck handkerchiefs.
12 pieces of muslin pocket handkerchiefs
1 Cargo Baranagore red handkerchiefs.
6 Cargoes Baranagore blue handkerchiefs
6 Cargoes petticoat red handkerchiefs.
36 pieces of plain and striped cossak.
12 pieces of Chandernagore long cloth.
24 pieces of Boglipore plain and striped cloth.
20 pieces of Chintz Boglipore.
100 pieces of baftaas.
100 pieces of Blue Baftaas.
36 pieces of Seer sucker.
12 coarse long shawls.
200 pieces of Patna Chintz.
12 pieces of Dooriah.
6 pieces of Charoonnah.
1 piece mulmul Malda flowered.
24 pieces of elatohee.
24 pieces of Bazarees.
200 coarse table elatchee.
12 dozen towels.
10 pieces of coarse Coromandal punjums.
12 pieces of Taffaties.
10½ maunds of tobacco.

Two lists which are available in the documents belong to the year 1800, one for the month of May and the other for the month of October. These lists are valuable as they indicate what goods were required, quantity required and their estimated valuse.

The List for the year 1800.

Articles required as per Indent

Chintz (Patna), 2000 pieces	To be provided at Calcutta	Rs. 36-12-0 per Cargo
Gurrahs Doorbhooj, 2000" (Supposed to be 36 by 2½)	From Soonamoohy	73-8-0 per dozen
Sannas - 1000 pieces	To be provided at Calcutta	5-12-5 per piece
Dasooties, 1200 pieces	From Soonamoohy	3-6-7 per dozen

Chintz Cossimbazar, 4000 pieces	From Cossimbazar	Rs 35-11-2 per Cargo
13 Bandeloes Blue, 1500 pieces Red, 500 pieces	From Cossimbazar	94-8-0 per dozer
Cotton Yarn, 3000 lbs. (Long string for candle wicks).	To be provided at Calcutta	28-5-7¼ per maun
Cotton Yarn fine for stockings, 3800 lbs. (Blue dyed, to be dyed at Golagore)	From Santipore	4-11-7 per maund
14 Baranagore Handkerchiefs (Blue and white square), 1000 pieces (10 in each piece)	From Baranagore	3-2-5 per piece
Sugar, 6000 maunds	From Benaras	6-8-0 per maund
Indigo, 2000 lbs.	To be provided at Calcutta	150-0-0 per maund

A later indent and estimate of 16th October, 1800, of goods required at the Cape of Good Hope and prices thereof is given below:-

Aliabad Baftaas, 2000 pieces	Rs.	3-8-0
Ballasore Sanaas, 250 pieces		8-0-0
Aliabad Sannas, 3000 pieces		6-5-0
Cassae (of Middling quality), 1000 pieces		5-4-0
Cassae (of fine quality), 150 pieces		15-5-0
Neck Handkerchiefs, 1000 pieces of fine quality		6-0-0
Sooty Romals of Middling quality, 4000 pieces (10 in each piece)		2-4-0
Dooreas narrow striped, 1500 pieces		5-0-0
Berhampats Three coloured, 15000 pieces		3-0-0
Nicquanasser, 3000 pieces		3-0-0
Palampoes for two persons, 3000 pieces		3-0-0
Check different patterns, 2000 pieces		2-0-0
Gingbams, 1000 pieces		1-4-0
Blue Baftaas of fine quality, 1500 pieces		4-0-0
Blue Baftaas of common quality, 3000 pieces		3-0-0
15 Patna Chintz Red, 14000 pieces		
Deep morning, 2000 pieces		2-0-0

Beerbhoom Gurrahs, 3000 pieces	2-0-0
Beerbhoom Bleached dasootis, 1500 pieces	5-0-0
Gunab Baftaas, 2000 pieces	4-8-0
Cotton thread for candle wicks, 4000 lbs.	0-6-0
Cotton thread for knitting (fine), 2000 lbs.	1-4-0
Shawls, 30	80-0-0
Sugar fair, 1000 bags	15-0-0
Sugar, 2000 bags	10-8-0
Sugar candy, 200 canisters	30-0-0

The lists make it clear that the cotton piece goods, fine and middling, and yarn formed the biggest export item from Bengal and brought good value.[16] Amongst the foodstuffs exported from Bengal, rice and sugar[17] were the most important. Bengal also supplied pepper,[18] indigo[19] tobacco,[20] rattans[21] bee wax,[22] timber,[23] saltpetre,[24] gunpowder,[25] seeds and plants.[26] Wheat was largely exported from Bombay and grains and other provisions were supplied from Madras.

India thus met the needs of the white population of the Cape Colony both for luxury goods, cotton piece goods as well as essential commodities. In return she imported Cape wines which were mostly consumed by the European residents in India.[27] The return was made partly in the shape of European staples imported directly from Great Britain. After the Charter Act of 1813, private enterprisers entered Indian trade. The British cotton manufacturers began to compete with Indian piece goods manufacturers. This and other factors led to the ruin of India's industry and loss of India's foreign market.[28]

India's flourishing industry and trade began to decline after 1806. From 1810, the declining trend in the sale of Indian piece goods was accelerated and by 1818, India had ceased to send piece goods to the Cape or St.Helena or Fort Marlborough, Amboyna or Java.[29] Within the next decade, 1818-1828, the revolution in reverse was completed. Indian industries were in total ruin. It was so disasterous in consequences that as many as 10,00,000 people were thrown out of employment.[30]

III. The question of shipment and limiting the supply

The East India Company had enjoyed monopoly of trade with India since its formation in 1600. It was modified by the Charter Act of 1793 by which licenced traders were allowed 3000 tons of shipping, with the condition that a special licence would be necessary for export and import of certain articles such as calicoes and muslins. In respect of the Cape trade, His Majesty's Order in Council issued in 1796 laid down specifically that all trade from India to Cape was to be in the hands of the East India Company or by their licencees.[31]

With the growth of India's trade with the Cape, the Company became apprehensive that if any but themselves or persons licenced by them were allowed to import goods in the Cape from the East of Cape, this settlement might become a depository and means be contrived to re-export these from Cape clandestinely to places which were then supplied with Indian goods from their own sales in Leadenstreet, London. They, therefore, wished to narrow and confine the trade of the Cape from India solely to meet the requirements of the inhabitants of the Colony and to furnish the supply by themselves.[32]

Dundas, Secretary of the Court of Directors, wrote on May 22, 1798, a letter to the Governor-General in India explaining this policy of the Company. The Board of Trade also directed that the Indents be framed upon the actual demand for consumption in the settlements, as an excess in the above articles might injure the Company's sales for the African market, and consequently His Majesty's Revenue.[34] Fear was expressed that if articles were supplied by individuals in excess of those wanted by the inhabitants and the garrison, these will be clandestinely transhipped from there to Europe.[35]

The test came when actually a cargo by a shipper arrived in the Cape Colony even after the declaration of this policy. The shipper (Messrs. Chase and Sewel) was not licenced by the East India Company, but carried a letter of recommendation from the Governor of Fort St. George. Macartney wrote a letter in protest to the Governor in which he pointed out that the accumulation of Indian articles in the Cape Colony, particularly of piece goods, would afford such temptation to commercial adventurers that "I fear no principles of fair dealing, no vigilance or vigour of Government could restrain or subdue".[36]

It is interesting to observe that there was a considerable smuggling trade in respect of finer Indian piece goods, which were so much in demand in Paris and fashionable circles in France and all over Europe. If the Company had not taken the above measures, goods would have gone to European markets clandestinely to be sold at fancy prices and from this neither the Company nor the Indian manufacturer, nor the

Cape Government would have got any benefit. In fact, the community at the Cape would have had to pay higher prices. After Napoleon's Continental Decree in 1806, a smuggling trade in Indian goods grew at a rapid pace. According to N.K. Sinha's estimate there were nearly 1,00,000 smugglers operating along the frontiers of France, following the Decree.[37]

Licenced traders, as a general rule, were permitted to supply sugar, grains and other provisions, not the piece goods. It was thought that such low priced commodities could not bear freight on company's ships. Export of gunpowder and saltpetre, however, remained the exclusive monopoly of the Company.

IV. Protection of the interest of the European settlers in the Colony.

The Court of Directors and the Board of Trade desired to keep the settlers, both the English and the Dutch, contented and happy.[38] Macartney, the Governor, accordingly devised a method of trade for the benefit of the consumers in the Colony. He laid down that the super cargoes of the private ships "should sell rice and other goods in proper lots by public auction, in such a manner as to ensure to the consumers the fair price of the market."[39] Dundas had also been very keen on such a policy and had directed that goods should be put up in small lots so that individuals may derive every advantage from the consignment.[40]

It was also laid down that Indian Government should load all the goods, if possible, on ships taken up by the Court at the reduced rate of freight in preference to the regular ships so that the prices be kept down.[41]

At the same time, the Board of Trade noted that the articles which the individuals had hitherto sent to the Cape had gone upon European ships and had been charged the full freight (of Extra ships to Europe) this they held was a hardship to the Cape settlers. So they directed that individuals should be permitted to supply all such articles as may be wanted for the use of the inhabitants and the garrison of the Cape, under such regulations as may prevent their being clandestinely transhipped to Europe. This was applied actually to sugar, grains and other low priced commodities.[42]

It was on the basis of this policy that Messrs Lambert Ross & Co. requested in a letter dated 17th December, 1800, to the Governor-General for permission to open a direct commercial intercourse between Bengal and the Cape, giving a list of articles which they wanted to ship there, namely rice, sugar, coarse calicoes, printed calicoes, cotton yarn, wax and tobacco. They hoped that trade in these commodities will be promoted greatly in this way.[43]

V. A new line of enquiry suggested

The foregoing gives an idea of exports during a period of flourishing export trade in the 18th century from the Bengal-Bihar region. The scope of this paper, being limited to trade, does not permit a study of the various centres of production and manufacture, some of which have now declined, but which were once important and are mentioned in the records of the end of the 18th century, such as Patna, Beerbhoom, Golacore, Cossimbazar, Baranagore, Aliabad, Rangpore, Ballasore, Santipore, Chandernagore, Hoglipore and Malda.[44] It will be a fruitful field of research for a historian to locate these centres, to study the history of their rise and growth from earlier times and their organisation and socio-economic structure.[45] Perhaps members of the Indian Historical Records Commission will encourage some young scholars to pursue this line of enquiry and research.

FOOT NOTE REFERENCES

1. I came across these documents in connection with my research on Indi-African trade. Dr.H.R.Ghosal had consulted only National Archives official records for his paper for I.H.R.C. in 1948.

2. Sir Henry Johnston, The Colonization of Africa, 1913, p. 135. Later estimates of Europeans are 16,000 in 1793 and 20,000 in 1798. Eric Walker, A History of Southern Africa, (1968), p. 125.

3. Letter from Messrs Lamber Ross & Co. dated 17.12.1800 to the Governor General of the East India Company requested for permission to open a direct commercial intercourse between Bengal and the Cape. They wanted to shift from Surat trade and concentrate on Bengal trade. O.C. 30-12-1800, No.58. In the first half of the 17th Century most of the East India Company's cotton cloth came either from Western (Gujarat Region) or North India (Agra region). K.N.Chaudhri, The East India Company, 1600-1640, (1965).

4. Macartney Papers (104) - Letter from Macartney to the Governor of Madras, dt. 9-11-1797.

5. Ibid. (108). Letter from Macartney to the Governor of Bombay, dt. 2.2.1798. The Cape Colony was producing wine meat and some wheat.

6. Milburn tells us that of the various industries which flourished in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the manufacture of cotton cloth was by far the most important. Bengal cotton piece - goods were noted abroad alike for their singular beauty and endless variety; and down to the first decade of the nineteenth century, they were extensively shipped to all parts of the world. Milburn, Oriental Commerce, Vol.2, pp. 111-221.

7. Their tastes and fashions were very much inherited from their European background. Indian calico was so much popular in Holland that one type of calico was called 'hollands'. A contempory soujourner in the cape, Captain Robert Percival, gives an interesting description of the habits, customs and manners of the settler in 1796. He says that the Dutch were very fond of smoking; they did not like coffee, the British introduced Coffee - drinking for the first time; that the Dutch women were more mannerly and hospitable than their men-folk. His report about the dress is that they did not change dress often. But he praises their beds which were made of sheets of calicos stuffed with feathers "so fine and downy, that one sinks quite in a hollow immediately on getting into them". Captain Robert Perceival, An Account of the Cape of Good Hope, 1796, pp.256-259.

8. This was because the private trader was supplying cotton piece goods and so these goods were not to be found in official indents for this year.

9. Macartney Papers (105) list of Bengal Goods required for the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope.

10. Enclosure of Letter from Board of Trade, dt. 7.6.1799, O.C. 20 & 21.

11. P.P. 2190-1, O.C. 22.5.1800, No.16.

12. Birbhoom Gerahhs: a species of coarse calico.

13. Cossimbazar Bandeloes: a species of silk piece goods.

14. Baranagore is a place about 10 kilometres north of Calcutta; was an important centre, at the time, of cotton manufacture.

15. P.P. 3029-31, O.C. 16.10.1800, No.10. The chief centre of Chintz manufacture was Patna. Buchanan, Patna-Gaya Report II, pp. 655-56. Bachanan also says that Patna chintz although coarser than that of Lucknow and Calcutta was purchased by the Americans or the Portuguese in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Ibid.

16. Milburn has mentioned ninety different kinds of piece goods which were exported from Bengal to Great Britain towards the end of the 18th century, Milburn, Oriental Commerce, Vol.2, p.221.

17. About sugar it is interesting to note that "cutcha boorah cheenee" was not liked at the Cape; so the major supply was that of 'the fairer and whiter variety manufactured at Benares and Rungpore.' Letter dt. 20.9.1799 to the Board of Trade from Fort William.

18. P.P. 2192-4; O.C. 22.5.1800, No.16. (Fergusson's List).

19. P.P. 2190-1, op.cit

20. Letter dt. 7.6.1799 from the Board of Trade, enclosing a list of articles. O.C. No.20.

21. P.P. 2192-4, op.cit.

22. O.C. No.20, op.cit.

23. Ibid.

24. Minute of the Board of Trade, dt. 19.6.1798, I.O.L. No.5, Vol.61.

25. Gun Powder was meant for the use of the Garrison at the Cape dt. 20.8.1800. Pol. Consultation 28.4.1797, No.1.

26. Letter from Dr.Boxburgh, Supdt. of Botanical Garden, Calcutta to Board of Trade; reporting that three chests of plants and a box of seeds are ready for transmission to the Cape of Good Hope, O.C.No.39.

27. H.Wilson, A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal, p.98.

28. Ibid.

29. From Court dt. 13.7.1818 and 26.7.1819. Proceedings of the Board of Trade, vol. 454.

30. N.K.Sinha, Economic History of Bengal, III, p.8.

31. Macartney papers, No.101.

32. Ibid. No.106, letter dt. 6.1.1798. From Macartney to the Governor General of the East India Company in Calcutta.

33. I.O.Lib., Bengal Pub. Progs. Vol. 61, H 745-748.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Macartney papers No.113, Letter dt. 22.10.1798 from Macartney to the Governor of Fort St.George.

37. N.K.Sinha, op.cit., p.2.

38. Minutes of the Board of Trade dt. 19.6.1798 showed concern about the rise in the price of sugar and other cheaper commodities as it was thought such a rise would seriously affect the feelings of the Dutch settlers.

39. Letter of Dundas dt. 22.5.1798, I.O.Lib., No.5, Vol.61, H-745-748.

40. Letter of Dundas, Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. O.C. 30 Dec.1800, No.58.

44. From other sources, one gets an idea of other centres of production of cotton piece goods. Some of the important ones were: Dacca, Sonagra, Vikrumpooru, Gurup, Haripal, Rajbalhat, Krishnadebpur, Kirpai, Radhanagar, Harial, Chandrakona (in Bengal) and Dinajpur, Shahabad, Gaya and Purnea (in Bengal)

There are to be found in Martin, Eastern India, Vol.II and Buchanan, district reports.

45. The scholars may find it useful to employ the methodology which the sociologists employ in studying these centres. One can survey and study the present state and pattern of industries of the places and then carry out research backwards as far as one could go. However, local tradition can be collected and stored and employed for research purposes. One may find interesting data on social and economic change, caste basis of certain types of weaving and dying, community specialisation in certain types of weaving or flowering on cloth, the age and sex as factors in the production. Even some idea about the habits of the people can be formed on the basis of the quality and quantity of production; for instance, Buchanan says in connection with the weaving industry of the Purnea district that "the small product was due to the uncommon sloth of the people", Buchanan, Purnea Report, p.543.

SRIRANGAM AND TIRUCHIRAPALLI PROCLAMATIONS OF MARUDU PANDYAN.

Dr. K. Rajayyan, Madurai.

In the course of my research on the South Indian Rebellion of 1800-1801 I came across two proclamations of almost identical contents they were issued by Marudu Pandyan, who organised a formidable confederacy of the rebels with the declared object of liberating Jambu Dweepa from European sway. Beginning his career as betel bearer in the service of the Rajah of Sivaganga, he emerged as a popular figure and minister of the State. The English, supported by the Rajahs of Mysore, Travancore and Pudukkottai, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Peshwa of Poona, suppressed the rebellion by the end of the year 1801. Marudu Pandyan, together with his elder brother, sons and grand sons, was executed at Tirupatore (behind the Police Station) in Ramnad district. His body was buried at Tirupatore, now within the Swedesh Mission Hospital Compound and head was buried separately at Kalayarkoil. The place where these leaders were executed remains neglected spot. Duraiswami, the youngest son of Marudu Pandyan, together with other leaders, was banished to Prince of Wales Island, Malacca.

Issued in the context of the Rebellion in South India, 1800-1801 the proclamation constitutes a remarkable document in the history of India's struggle for freedom. Not only does it reflect upon the political awakening experienced by South India as the eighteenth century advanced towards its end, but sheds light upon the factors that contributed to the outbreaks. On the 16th of June 1801 Tamil copies of these proclamations reached the notice of the English. The one that appeared on a wall in Srirangam made an earnest appeal to all the people of Jambu Dweepa to unite and fight for freedom. Almost of identical contents, the second that appeared on the Fort of Tiruchirapalli at the gate leading to the Nawab's palace inside, issued a similar address but exclusively to the inhabitants of the peninsula of Jambu Dweepa. The English prepared the translations and preserved them in Revenue Sundries for the year 1801 but destroyed the originals. The selection of Tiruchirappalli as the site of this proclamations is of the particular significance for it was the centre of cultural, political and military activity in the South during this period.

Inspired by an all India-concept, it directed all the sections of the society including those, inhabitants, who took service with the alien powers, to rally to the standard of revolt. If the rebels, as the proclamation stipulated, never wanted the assistance of the people whose blood was "contaminated by the Europeans", it was because of their undiluted pride of nationalism. It may be argued whether they equated the Kingdom of Jambu with India; but this doubt is removed by the second proclamation, for it refers South India as the Peninsula of Jambu Dweepa. The words "devised and determined" used in the text assert the organised character of the insurrection-organised by the peasant-leaders of South India, of whom Marudu Pandyan was indeed the most conspicuous. Unprejudiced by any conservative or communal interests the patriots saw their political malady in its correct perspective, for the proclamation declared: caste hatred, alliance with unequal powers, violation of faith by the Europeans and duplicity of the English inexorably led the country to political humiliation as well as economic deterioration. The insurgents entertained a positive concept of freedom, for in the destruction of alien hegemony, they saw the possibility of the realisation of political independence and the attainment of economic prosperity. In consonance with their liberal traditions, they matched their determination to liquidate the mastery of the Europeans with a desire to permit them a non-political existence. Perhaps the proclamation went wrong when it advocated the hereditary rights of the rajahs, for the monarchy failed to stand the test of time. However, when the patriots liberated extensive territories from the British rule, they never attempted the implementation of this stipulation. They advocated the hereditary rights, championed national customs and appealed to religious convictions, for without which they never knew for certain whether they could enlist the support of all the sections of the population against the alien powers and their Indian allies.

TEXT OF THE PROCLAMATIONS

Whoever sees this paper read it with attention. To the countries and castes of the Kingdom of Semboo-the Brahmins, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Mussalmans-this notice is given.

His Highness the Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan, having foolishly given the Europeans place amongst you, became like a widow. Violating their faith, the Europeans deceitfully made the Kingdom their own and considering the inhabitants as dogs, they exercise authority over you. There existing no unity and friendship among you, the different castes, who not aware of the duplicity of these Europeans have not only caluminated each other, but have absolutely surrendered the Kingdom to them. In these countries now governed by these low wretches, the inhabitants have become poor and rice has become water. Although the people manifestly suffer, they still lack an understanding to discern it. The great rajahs and people by the injustice of the low wretches are now reduced to poverty-so great a people as you are, reduced to this state.

It is certain that a man must die although he may live a thousand years and it is certain that his fame will survive him as long as the sun and moon shine. It is devised and determined that unless the Europeans do henceforward restore to the rightful sovereign hereditary rights without any violation of faith and national customs, and confine themselves to a dependent service-from which they expect to derive a real and uninterrupted happiness-every man in his stalam and palayam should fly to arms and unite together in order to make even the name of the low wretches cease. Then all the poor and needy will get sustenances. As the authority of the Europeans will be destroyed, we shall enjoy constant happiness without tears. But should there be any who like dogs desirous of an easy life obey the command of the low wretches, should be cut off; whoever serves the low wretches will never enjoy eternal bliss.

As all know with what subtility these low wretches always in unity with each other have subdued this country. Therefore you Brahmins, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and

Mussalmans who all wear whiskers whether civil or military, serving in the field or elsewhere and you subedars, jamedars, naiks and sepoys in the service of these low wretches and all capable of bearing arms, let them in the first instance display their bravery as follows: wherever you find any of the low wretches destroy them and continue to do so until they are extirpated. He who does not subscribe to this, may his whiskers be of no meaning and his food be without taste and nourishment. All but whose blood is not contaminated by the Europeans may unite.

Whoever reads this or hears its contents let him make it as public as possible by writing and sending it to his friends who in like manner must publish to others. Every one who shall not write it and circulate it as before mentioned, let him be held as guilty of the enormous crime of having killed a black cow on the bank of the Ganga and suffer all the various punishments of hell. Whoever takes this off the wall where it is pasted, let him be held as guilty of the five greatest sins.

Thus Marudu Pandyan, the servant of the great rajahs but the implicable enemy of the European low wretches. To all the people living at Srirangam - the priests and great people- Marudu Pandyan prostrates himself at their feet. Grant me your Blessing.

Khanasumari Records and the Statistical System of India

by
Durgaprasad Bhattacharya
Rama Deb Roy (Malakar)
Indian Statistical Institute

A b s t r a c t

Professor P.C. Mahalanobis considered that modern statistics is the result of fusion of two originally distinct disciplines, "one primarily descriptive, concerned with the collection of data, the other analytic, associated with concepts of chance of probability". He cited examples of (i) Arthasastra of Kautilya; 3rd Century B.C. (ii) Ain-i-Akbari Circa 1590 A.D., and (iii) Survey of Eastern India by Francis Buchanan, 1807-15 A.D.

The term statistick was used for the first time in 1749 by Gottfried Achenwall. The first scientific study of national resources occurred with the publication of Cosmographies by Sebastian Franck and Sebastian Munster (1534 and 1540) dealing with geography, history, military strength, etc. In precosmographies' era, collection of quantitative information was perhaps prevalent in all countries in some form or other; mention may be made of Domesday Book of England (1086) which contained name of place, name of the holder, number of serfs as well as extent of wood, meadows, pasture, mills, etc. The theory of probability may be traced in a rudimentary form in the sixteenth century. Upto the early decades of the nineteenth century, no successful attempts were made to connect the theory with social phenomena.

The descriptive statistics or statistical enterprise to collect data on natural and social phenomena on the basis of an enumeration type of enquiry seems to be prevalent in India since the days of Kautilya. In 1807, Dr. Francis Buchanan mentioned "a list called Khana Shumari, consisting of a statement of number of the houses, families, tradesman, castes, ploughs, looms, tanks and other public works, civil and religious, within the jurisdiction of the magistrate which is usually kept under all native governments and seems to be useful." Colin Mackenzie, later on the first Surveyor-General of India and Fellow of the Royal Society collected such Khana Shumari statistics in 1809-14 in the Ceded Districts following his predecessors. One such unpublished table of the "District of Giddaloor" now in Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh has been elaborated in this paper. A survey of encyclopaedias and dictionaries in various Indian languages seems to confirm the statement made by Francis Buchanan indicating a high status of descriptive statistics in the administrative system of India.

Khanasumari Records and the Statistical System of India

By
Durgaprasad Bhattacharya
Rama Deb Roy (Malakar)
Indian Statistical Institute

1. Introduction

1.1 Professor P.C. Mahalanobis considered that modern statistics is the result of fusion of two originally distinct disciplines, "one primarily descriptive, concerned with the collection of data, the other essentially analytic, associated with concepts of chance of probability".[1] He cited three examples from India: (1) Arthasastra of Kautilya : 3rd Century B.C. (2) Ain-i-Akbari : Circa 1590 A.D. and (3) Survey of Eastern India : 1807-15 A.D.

1.2 The Arthasastra of Kautilya contains the earliest reference to a statistical system relating to enumeration, collection and compilation of socio-economic data. "The third [Municipal] Board was responsible for systematic registration of births and deaths..."[2] "Also having numbered the houses as tax paying and non-tax paying, he [the Gopa] shall not only register the total number of the inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, but also shall keep an account of exact number of cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, labourers, slaves and biped and quadruped animals".[3]

1.3 According to Professor Mahalanobis, "In another peak period of Indian history, in the time of great Akbar, we find a description of highly developed statistical system in Ain-i-Akbari which is practically the administration report and statistical return of his Government as it was in 1590 A.D."[4] This document was and is being used constantly to build up quantitative estimates of land use, natural resources, population, production and consumption".[5] Some other works of statistical nature are of considerable significance like Mirat-i-Ahmadi.[6]

1.4 W.W. Hunter was appointed as the Director-General of the Statistical Survey of India in 1869 and in his very first report, he said, "I found myself therefore, in the position of a man who had unexpectedly fallen heir to the hoarded accumulation of a century, accumulation scattered over a great empire in unsifted heaps, but containing precious materials for the fabric which the Government of India resolved to raise".[7] The massive data remained practically unseen and unutilised, only a fragment has been used.

1.5 Thomas Munro is one of the most pioneer statistical investigators. Incidentally he visualised an India free of alien rule as early as 1824 in his last Despatch to the Court of Directors. He was the Principal Collector of Ceded Districts, a territory obtained from Tipu Sultan now partly in Mysore and partly in Andhra Pradesh contained mostly in the districts of Anantpur, Kudappa, Bellary and Kurnool.

1.6 At the junction of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, we find Colin Mackenzie who was the first Surveyor General of India during 1815-1821 and won the distinction as a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) by virtue of his work in India. The Governor-General appointed Captain Colin Mackenzie in September 1799 to undertake "a survey on an extensive scale of the territories lately subjected to the Company by the Raja of Mysore;... the attention of the surveyors should not be confined to more military or geographical information but that his enquiries should be extended to a statistical account of the whole country".[8]

1.7 In the Catalogue of MSS in the India Office drawn up for the purposes of the Imperial Gazetteer and appended to W.W. Hunter's Quinquennial Report on the Statistical Survey of India, 1876, the following description occurs:

> Statistic and Geographical Survey of the North-East Provinces of the late Mysore Dominions, ceded to the Hon'ble English East India Company, by the Treaty of Mysore of June 1799... from the Survey executed between 1809 till 1811... Madras, January 1st, 1816. (Signed) Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India. In two folio volumes on pages 769 and 632 respectively. Throughout in a tabular form, containing Registers of Villages, Statistic Tables, Description of Limits, comprising Statistic Tables or Khana shumaris, Village Register or Dihizada... / emphasis ours /

In a review in 1815, Mackenzie submitted "a sketch of The Southern portion of the Peninsula of India, showing different surveys executed" and among the list of provinces and districts on which Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Memoirs were already formed or were in preparation contained a mention of Ceded districts with an area of 28,989 square miles covered.

1.8 We have been able to discover a set of unpublished records of Ceded Districts at the National Archives of India surveyed under the direction of Mackenzie in the years 1809-15. A sample list of such records is given in Appendix - 1. In this paper, we shall explain the status of Khana Sumari in the statistical system of the day. And in doing so, we should, perhaps, speak a few words on the status of statistics up to early decades of the nineteenth century. The term statistik was used for the first time in 1749 by Gottfried Achenwall".* The first scientific study of national resources occurred with the publication of Cosmographies by Sebastian Franck and Sebastian Munster (1534 and 1540) dealing with geography, history, military strength, etc. In pre-comographies' era, collection of quantitative information was prevalent in all countries in some form or other, mention may be made of Domesday Book of England (1086) which contained the name of the holder, number of serfs, freeman as well as the extent of wood, meadows, pasture, mills, etc. The theory of probability may

---

* He defines Statistics as the description of the constitution in a wider sense viz., whole complex of remarkable facts regarding a State ("Staatsmerkwurdigkeiter).

be traced in a rudimentary form in the sixteenth century. Cardan, a celebrated gambler, made the real beginning. Later on, it was also mentioned by Galileo. Upto the early decades of the nineteenth century, no successful attempts were made to connect the theory with social phenomena.[9] Our discussion in the next section is, therefore, concerned with descriptive statistics only.

2. Khanasumari and the Statistical System

2.1 The descriptive statistics or statistical enterprise to collect data on natural and social phenomena on the basis of an enumeration type of enquiry or collection of returns from the lowest level of village officials like village-headmen was perhaps widely prevalent in India. In 1807, Dr.Francis Buchanan mentioned "a list called Khana Shumari, consisting a statement of number of the houses, families, tradesman, castes,ploughs, looms, tanks and other public works, civil and religious, within the jurisdiction of the magistrate which is usually kept under all native governments and seems to be useful".[10] In the catalogue of Mackenzie manuscript the term "Khanashumaris" was used for "Statistic Tables" which, in modern usage is written as "Statistical Tables".

2.2 Richard Jenkins mentioned that "under the Mahratta Government, there exists a kind of ground work for a census in most of the districts, in what is called the Khana Shoomaree or annual enumeration of the houses of each district, with a specification of the castes and professions of each householder, and other particulars, made by Government officers, for the purpose of adjusting the Pandree dues of the Government. A census which was ordered by the Resident in 1819 was only an extension of this plan, and made through the Purgunnah officers and Putels of Villages, each of whom is fully competent to give an actual master of all the inhabitants of his village".[11] The Report on

the Population Estimates of India (1820-30) contains a number of 'Dazajadda' and 'Chanashoomaree' tables of Travancore and Cochin States surveyed by P. Conner and Lt. Ward by 1816.

2.3 In course of subsequent searches, we have discovered a number of unpublished Khanasumari tables at different Archives mainly relating to South India. A survey of Encyclopaedia and Dictionaries in major Indian languages reveals that Khanasumari was accepted as a system resembling a count of hour and other resources including population as shown in the Appendix 2 of this paper. We shall examine and discuss the Khanasumari table of only one tract called the "District of Giddaloor" forming a part of the Ceded Districts surveyed by Mackenzie. In a brief survey of the nature and contents of the table, we hope to indicate the essential features of the system.

2.4 The Survey of India Memoir No.34 (p.31) for 1813 contains the 'Chanashoomari of the District of Giddaloor for the cycle year Angeersa or A.D. 1812" received from Rahgavenderror Tasildar and Ternsillrow Sherashtadar on the 6th day of January 1813". The Khanasumari Table is divided into two parts: Part I is an enumeration of resources and Part II is that of castes. The former contains 81 columns and the latter 76 columns. The first part of the table is divided into the following blocks.

1. srl.no. and names of the Summutts [col. 1-2]
2. village [col. 3-7]
3. water works [col. 8-16]
4. fortification [col.17-19]
5. religious establishments [col.20-35]
6. public buildings [col.36-39]
7. heads from where revenue is derived [col.40-69]
8. population: by houses [col.70-72]
   by families [col.73-77]
9. cattle [col.78-81]

Note: Column numbers in the table were inserted by us.

Let us try to understand the coverage of the schedule of investigation. We may well presume that statistical data were collected with a view to running the administration. There was probably no connection in the approach to any scientific pursuit of knowledge. With such an immediate purpose in view, the Britishers, who inherited the fiscal system of their predecessors, were keen to have up to date information for a quick grasp on the condition of the country to be governed and naturally were also inclined to follow the methodology of their predecessors.

2.5 "The District of Giddaloor" is now situated in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh around latitude 15° North and Longitude 79° East.

2.5.1 A Summutt is perhaps a unit in the fiscal administration consisting of several mauzas. Giddaloor consisted of seven Summuts.

2.5.2 Villages were divided into two kinds of subdivisions, firstly between a mauza or principal and muzra or subordinate / 54+50=104 /; secondly, between busty or inhabited and bachy-rank or ruined / 86+=8=104 /.

2.5.3 The third block is an enumeration of "Waterworks" of various types and also of dams. All natural and artificial sources of water were recorded in details.

2.5.4 The fourth block, i.e., "fortification", gives the number of "droogs", "forts" and "towers"; the total number of three types is 25 of which 10 belong to first two categories.

2.5.5 The fifth block, "religious establishment" is an enumeration of population under different religions and sects.

2.5.6 The sixth block "public buildings" takes into account of Circar Mavilly, Cutcherries, etc.

2.5.7 The seventh block "heads from which revenue is derived" mentions sources of revenue such as moosaffarkhanas, chodres, arrack shops, toddy shops, etc. - total number of sources being 30.

2.5.8 The eighth block is one of population. In this block, house numbers are given under 'terrached' 'tiled' and 'total', and families are divided seemingly according to their relation to land or land tenure, e.g., Jeer vette perhaps stands for Zirayati (Marathi) meaning probably holding normally taxed land, and, Khoshbash perhaps for families holding lightly assessed or rent free land - the divisions of families being 4.

2.5.9 The ninth block contains number of 'black c
'buffaloes', 'sheep and goats'.

2.6 We shall now proceed to discuss the second part o
"Chanashoomaries". It seems to represent a complete en
tion of existing social skill organised under the insti
of caste /~ inter-caste mobility of occupation was almos
unthinkable_/. There seems to be a predominance of the
caste (approximately above 20 per cent as shown in the
below) perhaps indicating to a reasonable good status o
crafts in the economy.

2.7 Part II of "Chanashoomaree" statement contains th
of "enumeration of castes". We are summarising the tabl
the "District of Giddaloor" containing 7 "Summutts".

Table 2.1 : Division of Population by ca

srl. no.	broad caste	no. of sub-caste	popula-tion
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Brahmins	3	1,184
2.	Chetries	4	114
3.	Vyshahs	3	2,100
4.	Husbandman	17	4,861
5.	Hindoo and Shudrao :		
	a. weavers	4	57
	b. dyers	3	61
	c. saddlemaker or jeengaur	1	27
6.	Shephered	3	2,795
7.	Artisans of various kinds	22	3,994
8.	Purdaish	5	22
9.	Musulman	1	1,334
10.	Miscellaneous	5	4,336
	Total	71	21,285

Note In row 7, "artisans" were classified together
approximately with an inadequate understanding
the local terms used in the table. It should
mentioned that a Descriptive Memoir is general
available with a Khanasumari table as an explan
tion of quantities presented in the table.

3. Concluding Remarks

3.1 On an examination of the status of descriptive stati on a global basis, it appears that the system of the enume tion of resources was quite developed in India. Original records of Khanasumari of pre-British days are likely to b discovered at archives in India and abroad if a thorough s is made. The investigation embodied in the system was mea ful and significant in several ways. Firstly, it was desi to have a complete grasp of material resources including m power and skill at the village level. Secondly, it is help to an understanding of a social structure based on caste- occupation. Thirdly, it included two essential sets of in tion for the state (a) sources of revenue and (b) status o defence against aggression at the village level. Fourthly, less significant is the enumeration of sources of water fo every village in a country perpetually dependent on monsoo chronically deficient in drinking water. We may perhaps s that in a way it represents a political awareness and a ki of social consciousness of the country.

REFERENCES

1. Why Statistics - Address of the General President 37th Indian Science Congress, Poona, 2nd January,

2. Vincent, A. Smith. The Early History of India. 4 ed. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1957.

3. Shamsastry, R. Kautilya's Arthasastra, Mysore, Sh Raghuveer Printing Press, 1951. Concurrently, the krit text was translated into Bengali by Yogindra Samaddar around 1812.

4. Quoted from No.1.

5. Works of W.H. Moreland in 1920's and these of Irf Habib in 1960's deserve a special mention.

6. Mirat-i-Ahmadi by Ali Mohammed Khan, the Revenue of Gujrat. The English version of the volume has been published by Gujrat University. James Bird A Political and Statistical History of Gujrat on basis in 1835.

7. Hunter, W.W. Quinquennial Report on the Statistic Survey of India. London, 1876.

8. Bhattacharya, D. Data Base of Historical Demograp I.S.I. (Mimeo.) Contributions by Munro and Macken cussed at p.7-10.

9. Walker, Helen. Studies in the History of Statisti Method. Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins, 1931. p. And also, Westergaard, Harald. Contributions to t History of Statistics. The Hague, Mouton Publishe 1932, p. 6, 8.

10. Buchanan, Francis. Account of the District or Zil Dinajpur (Microfilmed copy of the MSS extracted f India Office Library. I.S.I. Calcutta).

11. Jenkins, Richard. Report on the Territories of t of Nagpur submitted to the Supreme Govt. of India Calcutta 1827. In Report on the Population Estim of India 1820-30. Ed. D. Bhattacharya and B. Bha charya, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1965 - p.

Appendix - I

A. A Sample List of Khana Sumari Tables

1. Survey of India Memoir No.34 for 1813. pp.31. Chana Shoomaree of the District of Giddaloor for the cycle year Angeersa or A.D. 1812.

2. Survey of India Memoir No.34 for 1813, pp.47-48. Chana Shoomaree of the District of Cummun for the cycle year Angeersa or Anno Domini 1813.

3. Survey of India Memoir No.34 for 1813, pp.69-70. Chana Shoomaree of the District of Chittavail for the cycle year Angeersa Noma or Anno Domini 1813.

4. Survey of India Memoir No.34 for 1813, pp.64 Chana Shoomaree of the District of Doopawd for the cycle year Angeersa or Anno Domini 1812.

B. Illustration of Statistical and Descriptive Memoirs

5. Survey of India Memoir No.107 (1816-20). Memoir on the portion of Travancore regarding Travancore Survey 1816-20 by B.S. Ward. The Khanasumari tables were published as referred to in the text. The unpublished portion of the Memoir contains a general table of the Mundaputtinwaudaculls or districts in the Travancore Provinces, showing the number of subdivisions and villages in each district. p.5. It appears from pp.17-22 of the Memoir that for each village, the descriptive information on situation and extent, crops cultivated, free-gift lands, rivers, tanks or waterworks, plantations, timber and other trees, production, revenue, soil, tenures, manufactures, instruments, places of worships are available. At page 29 of the said Memoir there is a table, col.1 of which contains "Description of castes and occupations", the next four cols. information on population divided into males, females, children and total and last col. on houses. At page 30 of the Memoir a table of different descriptions of land with measurements is given.

6. The Memoir No.34 referred to under srl. nos.1 to 4 also contains similar description of places surveyed.

7. Survey of India Memoir No.36 for 1817, pp.15. Descriptive Memoir of the tract surveyed in Guntur, 1817 by H.Burkes.

8. Survey of India Memoir No.168 (1809-15), pp.407-413. Survey of the Post (Sic.) 1799 of the Mysore District : Districts Ceded to the Nizam and by the Nizam to the Company in 1800; Pennaconda and Conduconda survey in 1806. By Mackenzie.

9. Survey of India Memoir No.168 (1809-15) pp. 15-18. C
Provinces under the Presidency of Fort St. George :
Statistical Geographical Account of : 1809-14 by M.D

10. Survey of India Memoir No.51 (1809-11) pp. 101-107.
contains a descriptive Memoir of the District of Jum
mudgoo.

The above list contains a sample of materials availa
Memoirs of the Survey of India in the early nineteenth c
resembling some kinds of a follow-up survey to Khanasuma
of investigation.

Appendix 2

KHANASUMARI: meaning & usage in various Indian Languages

1. Wilson, H.H. GLOSSARI OF JUDICIAL & REVENUE TERMS ...
KHANA [H &C], KHANA (khānā) [Beng. & Mal.]: A house, a dwelling, a place.

Khānashumāri, [H] Khānesumāri [Mar.] Khāni-sumari [Karn.]: A written statement of the number of houses in a village or town, and hence, a census of the population is so termed.

Bengali

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

Gujrati

4. Sārtha Gujarāti Jadani Kos; p. 229

Khānāsumāri - counting of population and houses.

Kannada

5.
Canesumari - stands for Census

Malayalam

6.
Canasumari - stands for Census.

Marathi

7. [illegible] p. 204
[illegible] (Census/statistics of household and people). [illegible] (of cattle?), [illegible] (of articles), [illegible] Census.

8. Punjabi

Khanasumari: Government-sponsored census of houses; Government tax per house.

THE ANGLO-TURKISH DISPUTE OF 1872-75 OVER THE ADEN HINTERLAND, AND ITS RELEVANCE.

R.N. MEHRA, LUCKNOW

The recent boundary dispute between the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) has its genesis in the controversy that arose between their former imperial masters, the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain during 1872-75 in the wake of the opening of the Suez Canal.[1]

In August 1872 a large contingent of the Turkish forces marched from Yemen into the Dthali country of the Aden hinterland and forced the leading chiefs of the place into submission.[2] In quick succession the adventurous soldiers ravaged through the territories of the adjoining Alawi, Aulaqui and Abdali Sultanates, supplanted a number of ruling chiefs and substituted them by those who readily accepted Turkish overlordship. In the Abdali Sultanates, at the doorstep of Aden, the advancing Turks occupied Zaid and Shake, the two most fertile as well as strategically located districts near the capital, Lahej. In the Alawi country, the Turks captured the main chief, Said-bib-Saif. In the same manner, Ali-bin-Mokbil the most influential and powerful Chief of the Dthali Sultanate was replaced by a thoroughly acquiescent Chief. The Turks posted a superintendant at Dthali with a large contingent and returned to Taizz (Yemen).[3]

These incidents attracted the attention of the government of Lord Northbrook in India who took up the matter with the Home Government. Northbrook proposed, in February 1873, that in order to effectively meet the Turkish menace the British government may (a) rapidly conclude 'protective' treaties with the chiefs of the numerous Sultanates and Sheikhdoms of the Aden hinterland and (b) then declare the entire area a British 'Protectorate'. But it was turned down by Prime Minister Gladstone, who strongly felt that a British protectorate over the Aden hinterland would not only impose indefinite and irksome obligations on the British government but would also impair the understanding which then existed between England and Turkey.[4]

In the meantime, the Yemeni forces advanced further in the Abdali and Haushabi territories.[5] This forced the Briti Government to authorise the Government of India to ask the Resident at Aden to afford protection to the two Sultanates. The Resident sent a small contingent to Al Hauta, the capita of the Abdali Sultanate. The troops were about to collide w the Turks ordered their garrison to withdraw.[6]

The subsequent demand of the Governor General of Yemen that the British also pull out their forces from Al Hauta ga a new turn to the episode. Argyll, the then Secretary of St for India, vehemently protested against the Turkish demand. He wrote:

> "The relation of the British Government with the tribe around Aden are independent of Turkey, whom we do not to have any locus standi in that region." 7

The Ottoman Government countered this by formally anno its historical claim over the entire Aden hinterland. It de in January 1874 that 'as Caliph, the Ottoman Sultan alone wa entitled to sovereignty over the ancient domain of the Calip including the Aden Sultanates.[8]

The British Foreign Office reacted sharply to this and April 1874 declared:

> "Whatever rights of sovereignty the Porte might have had in Yemen in the past it is notorious that since the year 1663 Yemen has been under the rule of the Arab Chiefs independent of the Porte."[9]

As to the 'ancient domain of the Caliphate' the reply sent

> "The possessions of the Caliphate passed out of the occupation of the Porte more than two hundred years ago and fell into the independent tribes over whom the Porte did not attempt to exercise control until the present century when the troops of Mehmet Ali extended their conquests as far as Mocha." [10]

Which of these assertions is correct? Before passing a judge let us review the facts which the western and indigenous researchers have provided us and on which they generally ag

The earliest accounts speak of most of these Sultanat as "semi independent tribal Sultanates of Al Yaman." [11]

Generally, while the western Sultanates comprising Amiri Abdali, Upper Yafa etc. remained under a loose control of the Sabeean and Minean rulers of Yemen,[12] the bulk of the eastern Sultanates preserved their independence during most of the ancient period.[13] They remained upto the close of the first century B.C. under the successive indigenous kingdoms of Mam, Oataban and Saba whose prosperity was founded on the trade in frankincense. The Amiri, Abdali, Upper Yafa and Upper Aulaqui occasionally lost their independence to the conquerors of the Yemen. Aden flourished during this period as an entrepot between the Indian and the Red Sea ports.[14]

In the early Christian centuries, Aden and the western Sultanates fell first under the Ethiopians and later under the Persians. With the advent of Islam, in the seventh century, the various Sultanates and Sheikhdoms fell to the advancing Mohammadan conquerors.[15]

During the eighth and the ninth centuries these Sultanates and Sheikhdoms became divided into the Shiates and Sunnites following the great split in Islam. While the eastern Sultanates embraced the Shafai (Sunni) faith the bulk of the Western Sultanates, who were still under the (Zaidi) Yemeni control, accepted the Zaidi (Shia) faith. Al-Hakami, noted Arab historian, speaks of the area of the Western Sultanates as 'forming a part of the Aden Kingdom of Tihamah, one of the two main ports at Al Yamen[16] and describes the Hadramaut (Eastern) Sultanates as independent tribal States.[17]

The Zaidi (Imamic) sway over the Western Sultanates as well as over Yemen began shrinking towards the close of the tenth century. The area passed under the control of first the Najahides, about the year 1021, then the Sulayids in 1037 and finally of the Hamadawids in 1098.[18] The eastern Sultanates during this period fell under the Qarmalian influence but without losing their independence.[19]

During the thirteenth century the Western Sultanates and Yemen came under the Rasulides.[20] The Rasulides extended their sway eastwards and brought the eastern sultanates of the Hadramaut under their control.

The Rasulides maintained their rule over Yemen and Hadramaut until about the middle of the fifteenth century. After a desultory war which lasted from 1446 to 1454 the Rasulides gave way to the Tahirid conquerors from the north. In the process, Hadramaut was subjugated by the most powerful Sultanate, the Mahri.[21] This sway was maintained until about 1517. The Sultanates beyond Aden, that is, Subeihi, Aqrabi Fadthli etc. were also brought under the Tahiridian rule. The Tahirides were, during this period, under the Egyptian domination and paid tribute to the mamelukes rules there.[22]

In 1517 the Sultanates passed into the hands of the Ottomans when the latter subjugated the Tahirides and the Mamelukes.[23] The Ottomans consolidated their conquests of the area around 1538. They took Aden in 1547.[24] The adjoining island of Socotra fell to the Portuguese in 1507.

In 1629 the Zaidi Imam of Yemen overthrew the Turkish rule. Soon after the Imam reconquered the Western Sultanates, particularly the Dthali, Aulaqui, Haushabi etc. Thenceforth, for nearly a century the Sultanates remained under the Imamic (Yemeni) rule.

The Imamic hold began to shrink during the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. This encouraged the Western Sultanates to reassert their independent status. By the dawn of the nineteenth century the Western Sultanates were again as independent as their counterparts in the Hadramaut (East).

The British came into direct contact with Aden in 1799 in the make of the Egyptian campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte. The first political and commercial treaty with a ruler of Aden (Ahmad bin Abdul Wasim) was concluded in 1802.[25]

In January 1839 the British forcibly occupied Aden on the pretext of the plunder of Deria Daulat, a British protected vessel, by the then ruler of Aden, Abdul bin Kasim, and his men.[26] Thenceforth, until 1968 the British not only remained at Aden but also gradually and steadily lengthened the penumbra of their control over the entire length and breadth of the Aden hinterland.[27]

The occupation of Aden by Britain provoked her adversaries European as well as Asiatic, particularly the ambitious Pasha of Egypt, Mohammad Ali.[28] The Pasha sent a secret mission to the Imam of Yemen and asked him to 'drive the British into the sea'.[29]

On the other hand, the local potentates led by the Chief of Abdali, Abdul Qasim, never rested for moment in their crusade against the aggressors until February 1843 when with far superior forces the British finally crushed them.[30] Among the European powers the only appreciable challenge came from the French shortly after the close of the Crimean War.[31] A French frigate named Narcisse proceeded from Zanzibar in December 1856 'with specific orders to occupy Perim'.[32] The French ship reached Aden on 11 January 1857. But before this the British Resident had already hoisted the Union Jack and also stalled a garrison at Perim. No collision occured. Nor did France take up the matter with Britain.

In April 1869 Britain purchased the peninsula of little Aden from its owner the Aqrabi Sultan.[33] Simultaneously, France and Italy gained foothold on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Aden. France acquired Sheikh Said. Italy established herself at Assab. But neither power challenged British supermacy in the Gulf of Aden.

While Britain, France, Italy and Egypt thus vied with one another in gaining footholds in the Gulf of Aden the Turks sent forces into Yemen and subjugated the breakaway province. By 1872 the process was completed and Yemen once again became a Turkish province in fact. It was after this and in the wake of their victorious advance that the Turks marched into the adjoining Aden hinterland and then laid claim over the entire area.

To sum up, these Sultanates and Sheikhdoms were semi-independent tribal states some under Yemen and others under the Sabean, Minean, Main, Qataban and Saba Kingdoms in succession during the ancient period, then under the Ethiopian and Persians during the early Christian centuries, under the Zaidi conquerors of Yemen from the advent of Islam to the close of the tenth century and thenceforth under the Najahids, Sulayids, Hamadawids, Mahdids, Rasulids in succession until about 1517 when the Ottoman Turks took over following their subjugation of the Mamelukes of Egypt and the Ramlids. The Turkish hold continued the next hundred years but around 1629 the Zaidis of Yemen re-established their control after expelling the Turks from their own land. Thenceforth, the various Sultanates and Sheikhdoms remained under a loose Yemeni control until about the close of the seventeenth century. As the Yemani authority weakened in the after years these Sultanates and Sheikhdoms again became independent of external control around 1730.

They came into contact with some of the western powers durin this period notably France, England and Portugal and conclud treaties as independent states. Since then these Sultanates Sheikhdoms withstood further onslaughts of their neighbours maintained an independent status, until Aden fell to the Tri in 1839. Even after this, the bulk of Sultanates and Sheikh continued to remain sovereign states, owning allegiance to n but themselves, when the Turks aggressed into their territor and laid claim over the entire area.

The Turkish advance was an act of aggression on an ind people. It was by no means an action aimed at subjugating a rebellious province. The long gap since their withdrawal in cut away whatever right of pre-eminence the Turks enjoyed in south Yemen in the same manner as the Sabean, Minean, Mam ai Qataban during the ancient period, Ethiopians, Persians, Wa Sulayhids and Rasulids during the early Christian centuries and Egyptians and Yemenis during the modern period lost thei titles to their more powerful successors. As for the Britis hegemony from 1839 to 1968 the Sultanates and Sheikhdoms rem independent sovereign states, excepting of course the Aden C which remained under exclusive British rule. South Yemen, t today as People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, is thus not obliged by precedence to admit the sovereign rights of any f former and erstwhile masters.

FOOT NOTE REFERENCES

1. The successive governments of North Yemen have since 1918 refuted the Aden Protectorate - Yemen frontier drawn up by the joint Anglo-Turkish Boundary Commission during 1902-05. The chief argument put forth is that the frontier was demarcated by two alien governments in total disregard of the wishes of the North Yemeni people. Likewise, Turkish governments from 1905 onwards have also repeatedly insisted that the frontier had been demarcated under threat, coercion and force, disregarding the historical claim of the Turks over the Aden hinterland. The British government on the other hand stoutly defend their position and assert that neither Britain nor the bulk of the Aden Sultanates ever recognised any Turkish claim over the region.

2. National Archives of India, Foreign Political-A, August 1874, Pp.134-36, No.135.

3. National Archives of India Political-A, August 1874, Pp.134-136, M-135, Also Pagot J.Aden(1969) P.25.

4. In October 1873 Gladstone wrote:

"There is every imaginable objection to the proposed protectorate. It binds us to support those over whose conduct to others we have no control. It threatens to impair and most chronically, our good understanding with Turkey which is necessary to the peace of the East. Nothing but absolute necessity can warrant minimum interference and that only within the limits moral and local to which that necessity extends. What we are fairly entitled to ask, is, that Turkey shall commit no act of aggression against the chieftains, and this we have every reason to believe we can obtain from our general experience at Constantinople. It would be unpardonable to make another Gold Coast of it." (National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Secret E, April 1888, 182-185, No.183).

5. National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Secret E, February 1874, 1-51, No.16.

6. National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Secret E, February 1874, 1-51, No.21.

7. National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Secret E, December 1873, 56-188, No.124.

8. National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Secret E, May 1888, 196-219, No.206.

9. National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Secret E, May 1874, 11-38.

10. National Archives of India, Foreign Department, Secret E, May 1874, 11-38.

11. O' Leary - Arabia before Mohammad (1927) P.8.

12. Hitti, P.K. - History of the Arabs (1970) P.52.

13. ibid p.55.

14. Hunter - Statistical Account of the British Settlement of Aden (1877) P.169.

15. Hitti op. cit. P.142.

16. Al Hakami - Yamen (1892) P.165.

17. Ibid P.180.

18. Princeton Oriental Studies Vol.VII 'Atlas of Islamic H (Hazard & Hitti)(1951) P.14.

19. Ibid

20. Ibid P.16.

21. Hitti - op.cit P.(22)

22. Ibid P.24.

23. Bury - Arabia Infelix (The Turk in Yemen)(1915) P.12.

24. Hitti - op.cit P.24.

25. Aitchison. C.4 - Treaties and Sanads, Vol.XIII(1933), No.II, P.53.

26. For details see Mehra R.N. - The Deria Daulat incident the British Occupation of Aden. (Indian History Congre

27. Mehra R.N. - The Emergence of the Aden Protectorate (1 Pp.10-37.

28. Better known as Mehmat Ali.

29. Macro. Eric; - Yemen and the Western World (1968), P.30

30. Mehra R.N. - Ibid P.46.

31. Of 1854-56.

32. Macro. Eric; Op. cit. P.34.

33. National Archives of India, Political-A, June 1869, 20 No.229.

REVENUE ROLL REGISTERS - AN AID FOR QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF AGRARIAN HISTORY OF BIHAR IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Dr. Surendra Gopal, Patna.

Some recent studies on 19th century history of rural Bihar have concentrated on movement of land prices, sale of land holdings and the role of zamindaris. They have been based on archival materials drawn from India and Great Britain. However, the Board of Revenue Library, Government of Bihar, Patna appears to have been ignored. The library contains primary sources which have authentic quantitative data and which can deepen and broaden our understanding of the forces at work in the rural society of the state. At the last session of the Commission I drew attention to Mouzahwar records. In this paper I would refer to Revenue Roll Registers, compiled in the nineties of the last century and preserved in the Board of Revenue library.

The Revenue Roll registers are devoted to each district. The undermentioned remarks are based upon a perusal of Vol.XI relates to Gaya district. The data have been collected under the following columns i.e. (a) Name of the Pargana, (b) Name of the estate (c) Revenue divided into instalments and finally (d) Remarks.

The first useful information to be derived is regarding the number of Zamindaris. If all the estates are added up, we can get a near accurate total of Zamindaris existing in the district. A study of Revenue rolls of each district would indicate the number of Zamindaris in the respective districts. If all of them are added up, we know the number of the Zamindaris in the province. Of course, the real total can never be determined since the process of fragmentation as well as amalgamation of the Zamindaris never ceased. From the vantage point of later day experience, it may not be wrong to assert that in areas, where there were large number of Zamindaris, the sufferings of the actual tillers of the soil were greater and along with them the state of agricultural labourers was appalling. Consequently, when political consciousness grew in course of the progress of freedom movement, such areas became centres of peasant agitation and movement. This would explain,

why the peasant movement in the state which first started in the district of Champaran under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi did not prosper there, while it became more intense in Gaya district, which had many times more Zamindaris than Champaran.[2]

If we add up the amount of revenue which was to be collected we would know the exact amount of land revenue, levied in a district. A simple arithmatical exercise would enable us to find out the total land revenue that was to be collected. For the first time, we can have an exact idea of the total amount of land revenue of the province and also its break up down to district level and even below.

The data can be used in various ways. For example, if we relate it to the total area under cultivation, we can find the incidence of taxation per unit area in each district. Similarly, if put it against the value of agricultural produce, we could learn which districts were overassessed or underassessed. In fact, the data would enable us make a comparative study of the burden of the land revenue in different districts. May be this would permit us in conjunction with other factors to make generalisations about the regional economic in balances that subsequently developed in the province. Of course, the data regarding land under cultivation and the value of crops, have to be culled from sources such as Mouzahwar records, Census reports or District Gazetteers etc.

From the information contained in the Revenue Rolls, we can also infer the size of the village. Thus the register devotes thirteen pages i.e. from P.58 to P.70 to describe the amount of revenue due from Gopalpur.[3] Obviously, the fragmentation here was much greater. But at the same time the total amount due was meagre. This would suggest that area concerned was poorly cultivated probably because of soil-conditions and lack of irrigational facility. Of course, for the confirmation of the latter two hypotheses we have to turn to other sources. In addition to this information, we can have revenue as an index for categorising the villages. The new category would reflect their relative economic prosperity or backwardness. Thus within the district itself we can identify pockets of poverty. It may serve us as a starting point of investigation

for the stress and strain to which the district might have been subjected thereafter. Another interesting piece of information to be gleaned from the Revenue Rolls concerns the timing of the payment of the revenue. The month when the land revenue is expected to be paid, are all given according to the Hindu calendar i.e. Chait, Baisakh, Sawan, Bhadon, Asadh etc. The Government was undoubtedly aware of the fact that the masses better understood the indigenous calendar than the Gregorian and hence preferred to follow the local one for the purpose in place of the official one. Furthermore, the period of payment probably followed the cropping pattern of the area and the selected months showed the time when the peasant's capacity to pay the revenue was the best.

From a perusal of the Rolls, we also find that the payment was generally made in instalments. Usually the instalments were quarterly but in certain cases they were also biannual. In rare instances they were monthly as well. May, be, the break-up was necessitated by the inability of the people to pay in one lump sum. Hence, it would not be far-fetched to surmise that the government took into account the varying local conditions, such as the crops produced, their value, and the harvesting cycle and finally the capacity of the people to pay before fixing up the time for the realization of the land revenue. Another bit of information also deserves notice.

In a number of cases, the Rolls show that the amount of revenue due is crossed in red ink and a new amount has been substituted. The sum is less than the original. For example, in Barabar Khurd Paperahi of Pargana Goh the revenue amount was decreased from Rs.300/- to Rs.202/- in 1892.[4] In another village the amount was reduced from Rs.196 as.11 only to Rs.71/-.[5] The steepest decrease is in case of Jaitipur Paranwan where the revenue demand was brought down from Rs.1116/- to Rs.55/-.[6] The remarks column mentions the reason also. The reduction was done in pursuance of a letter of the Commissioner dated 17 October 1882. The remark is written in Devanagari script but no summary of the letter of the Commissioner is given. These reductions in revenue demand probably followed appeals put in after the assessment was felt to be oppressive or beyond the capacity of the peasant to pay. Was it in some way connected

with slump in agricultural prices? In certain cases, the British government thought it wise to climb down in order contain the accumulating discontent. It is not to suggest that the British government was always responsive to the demands of the people and revised its policies to serve or protect the interest of the peasants. The exploitative character of the British rule remained unabated. The poin would be worth investigating, why the Britishers made these concessions.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

1. The author expresses his gratitude to Shri Hetukar Jha the Sociology Department for the help in the preparati of this paper.

2. Binay Bhushan Chaudhuri, "The Land Marked In Eastern 1793-1940, IESHR, Vol. XII, Nos. 1 and 2; Ibid. "The Process of Depeasantisation in Bengal and Bihar, 1885- IHR. Vol. II, No.1.

3. Swami Sahjanand Saraswati, Kisan Sabha Ka Sansmaran, Allahabad, n.d.; Ibid., Mera Jiwan Sangharsha, Bihta,

Revenue Roll, VolXI (Gaya District), 1892, Pp.58-70.

Ibid., P.37

Ibid., P.34.

Ibid., P.37.

Jatin Mukherjee (1879-1915) and Indo-German Conspiracy (1914-1918)

Prithwindra Mukherjee, Paris

I

WHEN ON SEPT. 9, 1915, Jatin Mukherjee fought against a detachment of British Police, and fell at the battle of Balasore, Godfrey Denham of the Central Intelligence Department sent a detailed report about the fight and the "glorious death"[1] of Jatin Mukherjee to Cleveland (Dir. of Criminal Intelligence, Central Govt.); Jatin Mukherjee was qualified therein as "perhaps the boldest and the most actively dangerous of all Bengal revolutionaries."[2] Almost a verbatim repetition of this remark is found in the telegram sent on Sept. 15, 1915, by the Viceroy Hardinge to Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State: "Bengali first killed turns out to be well-known absconding political criminal Jatin Mukherjee, probably most active and dangerous of Bengal revolutionaries... Evidence shows that this party of five Bengalis was concerned in German plot for sending arms to India in association with others of their party, some of whom have been arrested during past month."[3] In reply Chamberlain cabled: "I presume that every precaution has been taken to prevent disclosure through the Press...." And in his letter dated Oct. 29, 1915, Chamberlain assured Hardinge: "Thank you for the Papers about the German Arms Plot. I shall have them put away under lock and key in our secret department."[4]

Apparently, Jatin Mukherjee led the life of an ordinary Indian : a decent employment at the Bengal Secretariat; a happy family with his widowed elder sister Vinodebala, his devoted wife Indubala, his daughter Ashalata and his sons Tejendra and Birendra; an intense spiritual

seeking initiated by personal contacts with Swami Vivekananda and guided by Guru Bholananda Giriji of Hardwar... "Like those giant whales living in deep waters only, rare were the occasions when Jatin Mukherjee came out on the surface"[5] : such was his strict loyalty to the principles of the secret societies which he had himself created. Though he had met Sri Aurobindo in 1903, the date of his assuming political leadership of the Extremists' Party ("Yugantar") is usually accepted to be the Alipore Case (May, 1908). But according to Hemendra Prasad Ghose, Sri Aurobindo's associate in the editing of the Bande Mataram, Jatin Mukherjee "was soon holding the Party together in a perfect discipline nearly for ten long years."[6] And Sri Aurobindo himself considered Jatin Mukherjee to have been his "right-hand man," one of his "most trusted lieutenants, a wonderful man who would belong to the front rank of humanity; such beauty and strength combined into one I have not seen. His stature was like that of a warrior."[7]

Except for attending[8] the conferences of All-Bengal revolutionary leaders held twice - in 1906 and 1907 - at the house of Raja Subodh Mallik and presided over by Sri Aurobindo, mostly Jatin Mukherjee's public picture resembled too much of a social phenomenon : protecting the helpless 'natives' against the spite of conceited 'white skins'; raising volunteers to relieve the destitute during floods and epidemics, or to maintain order during the large religious congregations such as the Kumbha-mela; giving away in charity the last piece of coin he had on him; nursing helpless patients, taking them home, clearing their discharges in handfuls; with a serene face; helping orphans and poor students with not only facilities for their well-being, but also for their studies;

encouraging the creation of night-schools and polytechnique centres in the rural areas; ridding the village folk of the troubles made by a Royal Bengal tiger, in 1906, by killing it almost in an improvised man-to-man bout (act which brought him the popular attribute of Bagha Jatin)...

For the first time when, in 1910, political charges were brought against him, his employer Mr. Wheeler could not believe that Mukherjee could have anything to do with such accusations. Yet, while Jatin Mukherjee and his followers were being tried in the Howrah Case, Hardinge came to India as Viceroy and took no time in singling out Jatin as a dangerous enemy of the British Imperial interests in India. In his letter to Earl Crewe (His Majesty's Secretary of State), Hardinge wrote on Dec. 15, 1910: "As regards prosecution, I (...) deprecate the net being thrown so wide; as for example in the Howrah Gang case, where 47 persons are being prosecuted, of whom only one is, I believe, the real criminal. If a concentrated effort had been made to convict this one criminal, I think it would have had a better effect than the prosecution of 46 misguided youths."[9] Then came the dismantling of the 10th Jat Regiment which had joined the seditious schemes of Jatin's men. In a letter to Valentine Chirol, Hardinge wrote on May 28, 1911: "The 10th Jats case was part and parcel of the Howrah Gang Case; and with the failure in the latter, the Government of Bengal realised the futility of proceeding with the former... In fact, nothing could be worse, in my opinion, than the condition of Bengal and Eastern Bengal. There is practically no Government in either province, but I am determined to restore order..."[10]

Before leaving Bengal for Pondicherry, in 1910, Sri Aurobindo left with Motilal Ray an instruction for his revolutionary colleagues: "Follow Jatin Mukherjee."[11]

7 Rare are the direct references made to Jatin Mukherjee in the records about the Indo-German conspiracy. "Hardly anybody outside the innermost circle ever suspected his connection" with much of what has been achieved, writes A.C. Guha: "secrecy was absolute in those days - especially with Jatin."[12] Beginning with Dr. Taraknath Das in 1905 upto M.N.Roy (or Naren Bhattacharya) in 1915, over almost a decade it was some of Jatin Mukherjee's emissaries who held a key position in the international chain-work to overthrow British dominion in India. In keeping with Sri Aurobindo's motto - "neither an impotent moralist nor a weak pacifist"[13] - Jatin Mukherjee was not however "the embodiment of the mediaeval values of warlikeness and heroism," warns us M.N.Roy.[14] Jatin Mukherjee held that in order to awake patriotism in a country for over centuries in bondage, a passing phase of violence was indispensable, before attaining the true basis of a peaceful popular resistance. This violence had to be practised not only against symbols of exploitation and tyranny, but also against the fear of death couched in the subconscient of a nation in slavery : some kind of self-sacrifice was demanded by the situation. "A nation is entitled to attain its freedom by violence," writes Sri Aurobindo, "if it can do so, or if there is no other other way.... Sri Aurobindo's position and practice in this matter was the same as Tilak's and that of other nationalist leaders who were by no means Pacifists or worshippers of Ahimsa."[15] In fact, Dr. Jadugopal in his reminiscences of the revolutionary days, portrays

Sri Aurobindo as Mazzini, Tilak as Cavour and Jatin Mukherjee as Garibaldi of India.[16]

Whereas under the newly passed Defence of India Act, several new charges of anti-British activity were brought against Jatin Mukherjee, Henry Wheeler (Secretary to the Government of India) helplessly wrote in a confidential letter on May 24, 1915 that Jatin Mukherjee "cannot be traced in spite of the offer of a reward of Rs.2500 for his arrest. He is believed to visit Calcutta occasionally in disguise but as he is a man of desperate character and always carries arms, it is difficult to find informers who will watch for him (so the Bengal Government report).[17]

On receiving the confirmation about the coming of the ship-loads of German arms from the USA, Jatin Mukherjee had to leave Calcutta with a handful of followers : as soon as the consignments came, they were to distribute those all over the country before the rising could be declared.

While in Calcutta, Jatin Mukherjee was seen meditating at the dead of the night : his eyes fixed at the sky, he used to go to a trance and tears flooded his cheeks. On reaching Balasore, despite a very busy time-table, Jatin Mukherjee used to retire in the forest and meditate before the setting sun. Only one evening, breaking his silent communion, Jatin spoke out to an aged companion about the vision of Krishna he had been having. "He was kind and truthful as well as bold and uncompromising," recalls M.N. Roy. Jatin Mukherjee's "boldness stopped short of cruelty, and his uncompromisingness did not preclude toleration.... He tended to accept the reformed religion preached by Swami Vivekananda - a God who would stand the test of reason, and a religion which served progressive social and human purpose. He believed himself

to be a Karmayogi...and recommended the ideal to all of us. (...) Karmayogi means a humanist. He who believes that self-realisation can be attained through human action, most logically believes in man's creativeness - that man is the maker of his destiny. That also is the essence of Humanism. Jatin-da was a Humanist - perhaps the first in modern India."[18]

According to the expectations of the Berlin Committee, Jatin Mukherjee sent M.N.Roy to Batavia under the name of Charles A.Martin. Through the German Consul in Jawa and Siam, Roy made interesting acquaintances like theHelfferich brothers, Atmaram and the engineer Kumud Mukherjee. As foreseen, Roy established a system of coded telegraphic and wireless contacts mainly between Harry & Sons of Calcutta and the German representatives at Batavia and Bangkok. Back to Balasore in June 1915, Roy gave Jatin a detailed report of the activities in the Far East. Judging from Roy's information, the German authorities from Washington, New York and San Francisco had already purchased important lots of arms and ammunition: these were to be sent to India via Batavia in five ship-loads, of which the first was the S.S. Maverick. If it took the steamers too long to cross the Pacific, there were ample stocks of German arms and ammunition at a number of Asian ports, mostly ordered by the Chinese Government : these could be smuggled and utilised for India. As a token of German collaboration, Roy placed a heap of sovereigns at Jatin Mukherjee's feet[19] and showed on a map the navigable spots of Hatia, Rai Mangal (Sundarban) and Balasore, as noted by the Germans.

Having chalked out in minute details the programme of distributing the arms and declaring the long-expected

insurrection, the revolutionaries hoped that the steamers would arrive any day. Suddenly a Press-cutting from Siam reached the Calcutta head-quarters announcing the failure of the Maverick mission. After much deliberation, Dr. Jadugopal and M.N.Roy (in-charge of the foreign information branch) showed the cutting to Jatin Mukherjee. He glanced through it, "as though nothing tragic or important had happened....Then in a calm voice he remarked: God has rectified our decision We had wished to free India with the help of another foreign power. But our Country shall rise with its own strength...."[20]

Possessing "all the qualities of head and heart to be the Leader at this juncture,"[21] Jatin Mukherjee in his quick discernment had already viewed the course of events. He was sure that the British would do everything to crush the slightest attempt of the Indians to win their freedom. They would be further merciless when they would discover the Indian intrigues with the Germans in a common object of omitting the British during the greatest crisis of their Imperialism. Moreover, in spite of their insistence on the "disinterested" help they were giving to the Indians, the Germans had certainly some hidden motives behind their gesture, motives which a man of Jatin's calibre did not quite ignore. The Prussian militarist disciples of Clauzevits were intelligible enough in the eyes of an Indian leader conversant with the teachings of Kautilya. Jatin Mukherjee, realising that the second phase of India's revolutionary struggle - after having gained momentum during full seven years - was approaching its diminuendo. While, desperate, M.N. Roy and other associates wanted to pursue further possibilities of German help, Jatin Mukherjee showed a complete indifference to their proposal.[22]

He had decided to put a dignified end to his own life as an apothesis to the revolutionary movement which was his own creation. An end that would mark as well the beginning of the third phase of a same and continuous impulse to win freedom for Mother India.

The story of Jatin Mukherjee's death in Balasore in a pitched battle is rather well-known. When, mortally wounded and transported to Balasore Hospital, he looked at his bleeding body, and exclaimed before breathing his last: "Strange! .... Still so much blood left?.... Fortunately every drop of it has been shed in the worship of the Mother. It can never end in a failure...."

On learning about Jatin Mukherjee's self-undoing, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was heard pronouncing in a tear-choked voice: "We have utilised the sacred Shalgram[23] image to grind mere spices." This indicates how greatly he valued the moral and spiritual personality that Jatin Mukherjee was.

II

WITH THIS PERSPECTIVE in mind, it has been possible for the present writer to consult in 1963 the documents and records of the German Foreign Office (internationally coded as the Deutsches Auswartiges Amt/Weltkrieg 1914-1918). As far as our knowledge goes, these microfilms were obtained from the National Archives, Washington. Having consulted these microfilms under the efficient guidance of Shri Bhupendrakumar Datta, we took down long-hand notes from the following Reels which seemed to correspond to the subject and the period of our research:

Reel 363: Files 50-51 (16/4/1913-28/2/15), British India (most of the Files missing when we needed them)

364: Files 52-58 (1/3/15-1/10/18), on British India (some files missing)

397: Files 1-11 (Aug. 1914 - 21/3/15)
398: Files 12-31 (22/3/15 - 11/9/16)
399: Files 32-38 (27/8/16 - 11/8/17)
400: Files 39-46 (12/8/17 - 16/11/18)
401: Files 47 (17/11/18 - 31/5/19)
" Files 1-4 (15/8/14 - 12/2/15) : Peace Negotiations.

} Activities & Instigations against our Enemies : India

Among the earliest documents, we come across heartening passages such as:

i) 7/9/1914: The German Foreign Office enquiring with German banks in Berlin and Hamburg (e.g. Egmond Hagerdon, owned by Hintze) about the branches they have in Near and Far East;

ii) 8/9/1914: Indians willing to come to Berlin : Prabhakar from Dusseldorf (ex-student at Heidelberg and Coln School of Commerce); Abder Rahman (University of Freiburg); Siddiqui (Göttingen);

iii) 9/9/1914: Von Oppenheim asks Zimmermann the name of a reliable person in New York, Chicago, Saint-Louis or San Francisco, "with whom Indians coming over from here can get into touch"....

iv) 9/9/1914: Von Oppenheim enquiring about the possibilities to get money sent to Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore etc. Also about Hamburger Dynamites & Co.

v) 16/9/1914: Report about Virendranath Chattopadhyay coming from Constantinople, "Extremely anglicised Nationalist, a Hindu from Hyderabad, speaking well German, French, English, well-bred gentleman. Should join the expedition to Afghanistan."

vi) 21/9/1914: Von Oppenheim's message toWesendonck; Neuenhofer wants to send the enclosed letter to Egmond Hagerdon & Co. (how to transfer 250.000DM in 3 or 4 instalments to India, by Oct.-Nov./Nov.-Dec.?)... Von Oppenheim proposes

that a German Consul in Holland must try to transfer through a Dutch bank to British India - via Java - 200,000 DM in 3 or 4 instalments before Oct-Nov-Dec.

viii) 12/11/1914: Professor Otto from Hamburg Colonial Institute advises Foreign Office to take note of the strait relationship between Germany and the Islamic world. The German Consul in Batavia would do better to issue messages through Muslim agents or Hindu nationalists over Singapore, Penang and Calcutta for North India. Get helped by Turkish legation in Batavia. Send agents from Germany to India with blessings from the Khilafat and Sheikh-ul-Islam. Two suitable persons available to go over Mecca to Gujarat. A reliable agent has to go to Constantinople to further these plans. 20,000 DM required.

viii) 7pp Summary of the Plans of the Berlin Committee;

ix) 15/11/1914 : "Duties of German Politics towards Asia (with special reference to India)".

x) 7/12/1914 : Ambassador Bernstorff through Lucius informs from Washington that Von Papen the Military Attache in New York had bought for India 11,000 rifles, 4 million cartridges, 250 Mauser pistols, 500 revolvers with ammunition ...

xi) 11/2/1915: Franz Von Papen informs that arms have been stored on board the Annie Larson ...

xii) 27/12/1914 : In a ciphered cable, the Foreign Secretary Zimmermann intimates Count Bernstorff that on behalf of the Berlin Committee Heramba Gupta was coming over to Washington to organise the purchase of arms, as well as to recruit Indians in the USA and Canada to join revolution in India ...

This golden overture of the Indo-German Conspiracy will slowly, in course of four long years, go on accummulating

false notes. Conflicting and selfish instances of gold-rush (of which Chandrakanta Chakraverty and Harish Chandra will be some of the most deplorable figures); endless vicissitudes and humiliation for sincere and genuine patriots (like Mahendra Pratap, Taraknath Das, Professor Barakatullah, Bhupen Datta); duplicity of German officials (like Hentig); adventurers turned into heroes (like Champakraman Pillai) and true heroes yielding to third degree methods (as in the case of Jodh Singh or Phani Chakraverty); projection of unsettled indoor passions on an international canvas (like provincialism or dissension between Indian Muslims and Hindus); frustration resulting into schizofrenia (as in Har Dayal); perseverence and lucidity promoting more tenacious revolutionaries to newer fields of experimentation (Chattopadhyay, Khankhoje, M.N. Roy) ... The cycle closes with the resolution of the Berlin Indian Committee on Dec. 6, 1918 to dissolve.

III

OUT OF THE ASHES of the martyrs of this second phase of Indian revolution, arose the phoenix of Time-Spirit and guided, decade after decade, the soul-quest of India's masses to attain independence. The further highlights of this Time-Spirit are remembered in the names like Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen, Netaji Subhas and - the wisest of all, by the failure of the others - Mahatma Gandhi.

On casting a nostalgic glance on his past years, having known some of the "most intriguing personalities of contemporary history" like Lajpat Rai, Enver Pasha, Borodin, Molotov, Bukharin, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky and Mao-tse-Tung, M.N. Roy wrote: "These are great men; Jatinda was a good man,

and I have still to find a better... Good men are seldom given a place in the galaxy of the great. It will continue to be so until goodness is recognised as the measure of genuine greatness."[24]

.....

NOTES

1. Foreword by R.C. Majumdar to Two Great Indian Revolutionaries, Firma KLM, Calcutta, 1966.
2. First Spark of Revolution, A.C. Guha, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1971, pp.393-394.
3. Auston Chamberlain Papers, P.O. 370, File281 2495/1915/13 3092.
4. Hardinge Papers, No. 77, Vol. V.
5. Biplaber Bali, Chandernagore, 1923 (proscribed in India).
6. Galpa-bharati, "Bipalbi Bangla", Calcutta, Oct. 1951.
7. Resurgent India, Sisirkumar Mitra, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1963, p.367.
8. Dvitiya svadhinata sangram, Bhupendranath Datta, Calcutta, 1949, p. 168.
9. Hardinge Papers, Book 117, No. 5.
10. " " Book 81, Vol. II, No. 231.
11. Amar dekha biplab o biplabi, Motilal Ray, Calcutta, 1957.
12. First Spark..., (Cf No.2), p.163.
13. Sri Aurobindo on Himself, Pondicherry, 1972, p.22.
14. Independent India: "Jatin Mukherjee", Feb. 27, 1949, p.91.
15. Biplabi Jibanor Smriti, Jadugopal Mukherjee, 1956, p.631.
16. Sri Aurobindo.. (Cf No.13), p.22.
17. I.B. Records/1915: India Office Library, London.
18. op.cit. M.N. Roy.
19. Notes by Molinikanto Kar, present during M.N. Roy's meeting with Jatin Mukherjee.

20. Biplabi Jibaner .. (Cf No.15), p.412.

21. First Spark ... (Cf No.2), p.362.

22. Two Great (Cf No.1), p. 204.

23. The stone-symbol of Shiva (Linga).

24. op.cit. by M.N. Roy.

****

NEWLY DISCOVERED ARCHIVAL MATERIALS IN THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS RELATING TO THE POST-1600 PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY.

M.I. Moir, London.

In preparing this type of archival survey one is immediately faced with the problem of having to adopt certain rather arbitrary definitions in order to decide which materials should be included and which left out. In this particular case the terms which most clearly call for definition are 'newly' and 'discovered'. How 'new' is new? 'New to whom? ' How far should one describe as 'newly discovered' recent government archives which becam available for research through the regular operation of general access rules? Are rediscoveries the same as discoveries And so on.

For the purposes of this paper I propose to confine the survey of archival materials to the following types of material now held in the India Office Records.

(1) Records of departments of the former India Office which for the most part first became available for public inspection in 1968 and subsequent years following the introduction of the thirty-year rule in Britain. Within this category I shall concentrate on whole new groups of departmental records which had only been formally transferred to the India Office Records by successive departments in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office a few years prior to their general opening in 1968 and which, to the best of my knowledge, have not so far been extensively used by historians.

(2) Records of a more fragmentary and heterogeneous character which were in fact discovered, or at any rate rediscovered in 1967, as a result of a systematic search of the whole Foreign and Commonwealth Office building and related offices undertaken in preparation for the move of the India Office Library and Records from Westminster to Blackfriars Road which took place late in 1967.

(3) Records which have come to light since our move to our new building in 1967 either in the form of occasional new 'finds' in the old Westminster building or as a result of more intensive investigation of the materials already in our custody.

(4) Private collections acquired since our list of 'Accessions of Private Archives' was issued in 1969. Here I will just make a few general remarks about recent changes in the scope of our acquisitions policy. A short list of collections acquired since 1969 forms the appendix to the paper.

Finally, I should emphasise that within these four categories I must necessarily be very selective and in particular omit all mention of the extensive and important material relating to areas outside the sub-continent which have been added to the India Office Records during the past ten or so years.

Amongst the official departmental records of the former India Office which have for the most part only became available from 1968 onwards, the most important are those of the Accountant General (L/AG) the Information Department (L/I) the Legal Adviser (L/L) the Secretary of States' Private Office (L/PO) and the War Staff Papers (L/WS). Unlike the later records of the principal administrative departments of the Indian Office i.e. the Revenue/Economic group, the Military group, the Public and Judicial group and the Political and Secret group which had long been in the custody of the India Office Records or of its predecessor, most of these materials had only been formally transferred from the successor departments of the Foreign and Commonwealth during the 1960s. In fact prior to their transfer, knowledge of their existence was virtually confined to a few registry clerks and elderly paperkeepers.

Of the four groups I have mentioned the records of the Accountant-General (L/AG) form by far the largest collection, now totalling (along with related earlier records) well over 8000 items covering the period 1601-1967. It is very difficult to encompass their immense scope and content in a few words, but broadly speaking they consist of the accounting records and connected papers of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office together with various dependant institutions such as Haileybury College, Addiscombe Military Academy etc. As the records of the expenditure of the Home Government of India, their potential subject-reference is virtually open-ended. However from the historical point of view one may perhaps distinguish two main kinds of material within the L/AG group which are especially important and comprehensive. The first are what may be described as the biographical or personnel source materials. These include the wills, probates, administrations and similar records of large numbers of Europeans who died in India from the late 18th century onwards (L/AG/34); records of the pay, pensions and service of members of the Home Establishment (i.e. East India House, the India Office etc.) from early 18th century (L/AG/11-12, 19, 29-30);

records of the pensions and leave, furlough and duty pay of members of the Indian civil and military services (L/AG/6,9,20-21, 23,29) in some cases going back to the late 17th century. The second main category which can be clearly distinguished within the L/AG group are the records which throw light on the economic activities of the East India Company, notably the series of general, cash, commerce, journals and ledgers (L/AG/1) for the period starting 1664. However unlike the biographical and personnel records which were transferred to the India Office Records fairly recently, these materials have been accessible for some years and are therefore more widely known.

Finally it should be stressed again that this sort of very general picture of the content of the Accountant-General's records is over-simplified and fails to do justice to certain materials within the group which are neither biographical nor economic, nor even accounting records in the strict sense. Perhaps the most striking example of these exceptions are the Minutes of the London offices of various Indian railway and canal companies, from the middle years of the 19th century onwards, which passed into the custody of the Accountant-General when the companies were taken over by the government. Inevitably with such a vast and complex collection, the approach to and interpretation of particular types of records within the L/AG group is by no means always straightforward. It is thus essential for all researchers using these materials to consult the draft guide to the collection which is now available for reference in the India Office Records pending a final revision for publication.

The second group of departmental records which for the first time became available, at least in part, in 1968, only a few years after transfer from the Commonwealth Relations Office, are those of the Information Department of the India Office (L/I, 1712 files and volumes) covering the years 1921-49. These materials, which are now fully listed, consist of subject and personal files and newspapers cuttings. They provide the historian and social scientist with a mass of materials for understanding the way in which the India Office attempted to keep in touch with and influence public opinion through the press and other media, particularly during the Second World War. Unfortunately the main series of press cuttings are only taken from British newspapers,

so that although scattered information about articles in the Indian press can be gleaned from the files of the department and also from a short series of cuttings relating to the Cabinet Mission of 1946, there is no conveniently comprehensive successor series to the earlier Record Department set of Indian Newspaper Reports (L/R/5) which for the most part finish during the 1920s.

The third group of departmental records to become available in part since 1968 are those of the Legal Adviser to the India Office (L/L, 1060 boxes and 59 volumes). Of all the archives I have so far mentioned, these made the strongest impression on the minds of the India Office Records staff who first saw them in 1962-63. After climbing up a spiral staircase situated in a small room on the first floor of the old India Office building, one entered a large dimly-lit loft in which well over fifty huge wooden crates were stowed, crammed with old deeds and Privy Council appeal papers.

Technically, of course, it was not really a first discovery but it certainly felt like one. They are now housed rather less gothic, in our Blackfriars Road repository and are in the process of being sorted and listed. Apart from the important collection of Appeals to the Privy Council for the period 1832-1942, they include long series of Legal Advisers' case and opinion papers from the early 13th century and a mass of records relating to real and personal property, litigation, arbitrations etc.

The Private Office Papers (L/PO, 495 files and volumes) constitute the fourth new group of records opened to research in 1968. These Papers covering the periods c. 1904-48, were orginally kept by the private secretaries of successive Secretaries of State for India and were not registered in the ordinary India Office departments. Although marked 'private' and 'personal' they deal with some of the key aspects of Indian policy and are particularly important for understanding the whole process of constitutional and political change in India from the Simon Commission to Independence. The editors of the India Office Records series of documents relating to the Transfer of Power have therefore made extensive use of the collection. The last major new departmental group to be transferred from the successor department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office were the

India Office War Staff Papers (L/WS, 1860 files). The War Staff organisation which was set up within the India Office under the Military Secretary in 1939, took over a number of earlier Military Department records and went on to produce its own series of subject files which continue down to 1949. These papers whilst containing a fair amount of routine administrative emphemera, also include documents vital for the study of Indian defence during the War and of post-war planning. Much of this material was used in compiling the official history of the Second World War. At the beginning of this paper I distinguished as the second main category of newly discovered records those materials which came to light in 1967 as a result of a systematic survey of the old India Office building carried out in preparation for the move to Blackfriars Road. At that time we strongly suspected that there would be quite a number of documents originally belonging to the India Office which had somehow become separated from the main collections or which had never actually been formally attached to them and were therefore long forgotten. Since we were about to leave the building which had been xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx occupied by the Library and Records for a hundred years (from 1867) it was clearly important that we should take everything with us. The large collection of heterogeneous material which members of the records staff led by Mr. S.J. McNally, formerly of the Accountant General's Department, succeeded in finding in the cupboards of rooms now occupied by officials of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, certainly exceeded our expectations. It is impossible in this brief paper to describe in detail all the material they discovered. All of this has now been absorbed into the appropriate sections of the India Office Records in accordance with the overall classification scheme. Probably the most extensive and clearly defined collection of material which came to light in this way are the papers assigned to Section Q of the classification scheme-Records of Commissions, Committees and Conferences (231 volumes plus 146 boxes and bundles). These records comprise the papers of various investigating or deliberative bodies working mainly in Britain or India, which were subsequently deposited in the India Office by the authorities concerned. The materials largely consist of unpublished proceedings, minutes of evidence and working papers.

Amongst the bodies whose papers are included are the following:

Royal Commission on the Administration of the Expenditure of India (the Welby Commission) 1895-1900.

Royal Commission on the Public Services of India (the Islington Commission), 1912-13.

Committee on State Technical Scholarships in India (the Horison Committee), 1913.

Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18.

Committee on Indian Students (the Lytton Committee) 1921-23.

Royal Commission on the Superior Services in India (the Lee Commission) 1924.

Indian Statutory Commission (the Simon Commission) 1928-29.

Indian Round Table Conferences, 1930-32.

Indian Franchise Committee, 1932.

Indian Decimitation Committee, 1935-36.

It has not yet been possible to provide proper finding-aids for most of the papers. We hope to complete them in the near future. Another important discovery made as a result of our investigations in preparation for the move was a tantalisingly short run of 22 volumes of Proceedings of the Bengal Nizamut Adawlut from January 1796 to July 1797. Since according to Sir William Foster the records of the Nizamut Adawlut were destroyed in 1860 in the course of a weeding of the records of the East India House and the Board of Control, it appears that these volumes somehow escaped 'execution' and all subsequent notice. I should add that they were the only records belonging to the class of Indian Proceedings to come to light during the 1967 investigations. With the transfer of the few remaining major India Office departmental record groups which took place mainly during the 1960s and with the location and acquisition of a large number of stray records in the old India Office building during 1967, the final stages in the reconstitution of all the surviving parts of the original India Office archive seem to have been reached. However this is not to say that there are not still more discoveries to be made either through occasional new 'finds' in the main Foreign and Commonwealth Office building or as a result of more detailed and intensive investigation of the materials now safely gathered in at the Blackfriars Road repositories. Examples of material still occasionally discovered in and transferred from Westminster are usually noted each year in the Annual Report

of the Library and Records. These range from an important single printed volume containing the proceedings of the Cabinet Delegation to India in 1946, received late in 1968 to a further consignment of Leave and Pension records originally belonging to the Accountant-General, received during 1972-73. As regards discoveries made within the India Office Library and Records since we opened in the new building in 1968, a number of examples could be given, perhaps the most striking being a group of Bengali manuscripts located within the Library's oriental language collections but clearly of an archival nature. Now catalogued by Professor Anisuzzaman of the University of Chittagong, these manuscripts consist of 12 volumes of correspondence between the East India Company's factory at Dacca and its various employees in different aurangs between 1792 and 1801; 3 bundles of papers belonging to courts of law in Bengal during 1793-97; and 28 account books of various Company factories in Bengal between 1792 and 1807. The exact provenance of the collections is still unknown but it would seem that most of the records were associated with John Taylor who was Commercial Resident at Dacca during this period. The Private collections acquired by the India Office Library between 1937 and 1969 are briefly described in the special list of 'Accessions of Private Archives' published in 1969. These collections, particularly those of Viceroys, Governors, Commanders-in-Chief and Secretaries of State are now very well known and hardly come under the category of newly discovered materials. A list of collections received after 1969 (until 1974) is provided as an appendix to this paper. Details of all newly-acquired private collections are also given in the Annual Reports of the Library and Records together with basic information about smaller accessions such as journals, small groups of letters etc. From a general survey of the private papers recently acquired by the India Office Library and Records it will be seen that there has been a certain broadening of the scope of our acquisitions, particularly since about 1971. Thus whilst we have always been interested in acquiring private collections of all types that throw light on modern South Asian history, it was necessary at first to concentrate on securing and preserving the collections of the great, as it were, i.e. Viceroys, Secretaries of State, Governors etc. We are now equally anxious to gather in the papers of administrators at levels, particularly those of district

officers, as well as those of members of the specialised services - the Educational, Forestry, Medical and Political services, the Police and the Railways.

This trend is represented by a number of acquisitions listed in the appendix to this paper, notably in the Bailey, Brayne, Bell, Bruce, Green, Havell, La Touche and Skrine collections, and in the deposited papers of the India, Pakistan and Burma Association; the Indian Police Committee and the Royal Society for India, Pakistan and Ceylon. The trend continues strongly in the 1975 acquisitions, (details of which are not yet published) which include the papers of eight former members of the Indian Civil Service and two members of the Indian Service of Engineers.

Notes

1. Sir William Foster, A Guide to the India Office Records, 1600-1858 (London 1919, reprinted 1966).

2. Though not strictly speaking falling within the scope of this papers, it may be useful to summarise some of the principal means of tracing British private papers relating in various ways to the History of South Asia which are not held by the India Office Library and Records. The basic function of centralising information on the location of the private papers of individuals and families of note, business and industrial undertakings, political and other organisations and associations etc. is performed by the National Register of Archives, (Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2A 1HP) in so far as England and Wales are concerned. The National Register also extends in practice to Scotland and Northern Ireland, although both have their own more comprehensive reference centres, viz. the National Register of Archives (Scotland) in Edinburgh and Public Records Office of Northern Ireland at Belfast.

The following published records or surveys should also be consulted:

M.D. Wainwright and Noel Matthews, A Guide to Western Manuscripts in the British Isles relating to South and South East Area, (London, 1965).

Cameron Hazlehurst and Christine Woodland, A Guide to the Papers of British Cabinet Ministers 1900-1951 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1974).

Chris Cook etc., Sources in British Political History 1900-1951, 2 vols. (London, 1975). Mary Thatcher, Cambridge South Asian Archive (London, 1973).

APPENDIX

INDIA OFFICE RECORDS

ACCESSIONS OF PRIVATE COLLECTIONS 1969-74

The latest list of 'Accessions of Private Archives' was published in 1969 and covered manuscript collections received in the India Office Library mainly since the last volume of printed catalogues of European Manuscripts was published in 1937 (Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages by C.O. Blagden, S.C. Hill, G.R. Kaye and E.H. Johnston. 2 vols. in 5 parts of which only three were published, two in 1916 and one in 1937. The other two parts are in print and are available in the Reading Rooms). In 1975 the European Manuscripts Collections were transferred to the India Office Records, primarily because the majority of these private archival collections closely complement the archives held in the Record Office those of the East India Company, the Board of Control, the India Office and the Burma Office.

The present list covers private collections received between 1969 and 1974. Collections marked with an asterisk are either partly or wholly closed to public inspection. A comprehensive revised list of all private collections received between 1937 and 1974 will be published shortly.

Agnew Collection Papers, dated 1779-1818, of Major General Patrick Alexander Agnew, Madras Native Infantry c 1772-1812, comprising private correspondence and military accounts. 1 box. Purchased in 1971.

MSS.Eur.F.313

Archer Collection Papers, dated 1945-74, of William George Archer, Indian Civil Service 1930-1948, Keeper, Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum 1949-59, Keeper Emeritus since 1959; and of Mrs. Mildred Archer, in charge of Prints and Drawings at the India Office Library since 1954; Literary, official and private papers, 6 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Dr. and Mrs W.G. Archer in 1965 and 1974. MSS.Eur.D.677*

Babington Collection. Papers, dated 1812-1925, of the Babington family: Stephen Babington, Bombay Civil Service 1806-22; his wife Catherine; their sons, Stephen, Bombay Civil Service 1838-46, and William Frank, Bombay Medical Service 1838-54. 1 box Presented by Miss M.Babington in 1969 and 1970 MSS.Eur. D.745.

Bailey Collection Papers, dated 1890-1965, of Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Marshman Bailey, Indian Army 1900-38 and Indian Political Service 1905-35; also the papers of his parents, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Bailey, Royal Engineers and Indian Forest Service 1871-89, and Florence A. Bailey, nee Marshman. 50 volumes, 20 boxes and 40 albums. Deposited on permanent loan by the Hon Mrs F.M. Bailey in 1971-72.

MSS. Eur. F.157

Frank Bell Collection. Papers, dated 1931-72, of Frank Owen Bell, Indian Civil Service, Bengal 1930-47, comprising tour-diary, note-books, articles and maps. 2 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Mr F.O. Bell in 1968 and 1972-73. MSS.Eur. D.733

Bogle Collection Papers, dated 1774-77, of George Bogle, Bengal Civil Service 1769-81, mainly concerned with his visit to the Tashi Lama of Tibet in 1774. 4 boxes. Transferred from the official archives.

MSS.Eur.E.226

Brayne Collection Papers, dated 1900-52, of Frank Lugard Brayne, Indian Civil Service 1905-41, Financial Commissioner and Secretary in the Revenue Department, Punjab, 1939-41. 36 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Mr. Thomas Brayne in 1970. MSS.Eur. F.152.

British Association of Malaysia and Singapore. Papers, dated 1920-74, of the British Association of Malaysia and Singapore (1920-73) comprising minute books and subject files on trade, politics and cultural matters. 10 boxes, 7 volumes. Presented by the British Association of Malaysia and Singapore in 1974.

MSS.Eur. F.168.

Lewis Brown Collection Papers, dated 1827-97, of Major Lewis Brown, 5th Bombay Native Infantry 1827-51; also of his wife, Georgiane, nee Smee, and two of his four sons: Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis George Brown, 8th Bombay Native Infantry, and Colonel William Thomas Brown, 15th Bombay Native Infantry, 1 box. Purchased in 1969. MSS.Eur. E. 305.

Bruce Collection Papers, dated 1865-1941, of Richard Issac Bruce, Indian Civil Service 1863-94, and Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Edward Bruce, Indian Army 1901-31, mainly relating to the North-West Frontier of India. 18 boxes. Presented via St. Antony's College, Oxford, in 1973. MSS.Eur.F.163.

Burmah Oil Company Collection Papers, dated 1935-67, concerning the Burmah Oil Company's Burma Denial Claim (UK Action) against the British Government 1961-64, 47 boxes, 27 bundles. Deposited on permanent loan by the Board of Directors, Burmah Oil Trading Ltd. in 1971. MSS. Eur.F.156*

Dunlop-Smith Collection Papers, dated 1855-1923, of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Dunlop-Smith, Indian Army 1879-1921, and his father-in-law, Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison, Indian Civil Service 1855-88, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab 1882-87. 11 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Mrs. F.P.Dunlop and Miss J.Dunlop-Smith in 1972 and 1973. MSS.Eur. F.166.

Edwardes Collection Papers, dated 1847-62, of Sir Herbert Edwardes, Commissioner of Peshawar 1853-61, Commissioner of Ambala 1862-65, 6 volumes, 1 box. Purchased in 1948 and 1954. MSS.Eur.E.21

Fitzroy Collection Papers, dated 1921-39, of Yvonne Alice Gertrude Fitzroy as Private Secretary, 1921-25, to Alice Marchioness of Reading, Vicereine of India 1921-26. 2 boxes, 4 albums. Deposited on permanent loan by Miss Elizabeth Fitzroy, via Mrs Gervas Portal in 1971. MSS. Eur.F.213

Frere Collections Papers, dated 1816-89, of Sir Henry Bartle Frere, 1st Baronet, Member of the Governor-General's Council 1859-62, Governor of Bombay 1862-67, Member of the Council of India 1867-77.4 boxes. Presented by Mr. P.Frere in 1944-45. MSS.Eur. F.81.

Ghose Collection Papers and draft novels, dated c 1940-65, of Dr. Sudhindra Nath Ghose, Bengali novelist. 25 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Miss E.M.Weiser and Miss E.Carlile in 1970. MSS. Eur. F.153.

Grant Collection Papers, dated 1800-1903, of Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay 1834-38; of Lady Josceline Percy, his widow; and of their son, Charles Grant, Bengal Civil Service 1858-85, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India 1881-85. 6 boxes. Presented by Mr & Mrs Gervas Huxley in 1970. MSS.Eur. E.308.*

Green Collection Letters, dated 1915-21, written by Samuel Arnold Collier Green, Indian Civil Service 1915-33, and his sister, Madge Leader Green, to their parents in England. 2 boxes, 1 folder. Presented by Miss Madge Green in 1970. MSS.Eur. E.310.

Hamilton Collections Papers of Lord George Hamilton as Secretary of State for India 1895-1903, comprising mainly correspondence with the Earl of Elgin and Lord Curzon. 36 volumes. Presented by Mr. Ronald Hamilton in 1951. MSS.Eur.C.125-6 and MSS.Eur. F. 123.

Havell Collection Papers, dated 1887-1937, of Ernest Binfield Havell, Indian Educational Service, Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, 1896-1906. 1 box. Presented by Lady Wilson in 1969. MSS.Eur. D. 736.

The India, Pakistan and Burma Association Papers, dated 1941-70, of the India, Pakistan and Burma Association, comprising administrative papers and subject files on trade and politics. 1050 files. Deposited on permanent loan by the India, Pakistan and Burma Association in 1972. MSS.Eur. F.158.*

Indian Police Collection Papers used in the compilation of To guard my people: the history of the Indian Police, by Sir Percival Griffiths (London 1971); and other Indian Police papers. 20 file boxes. Presented by the Committee of the Indian Police (UK) in 1972. MSS. Eur. F. 161.*

Jones Collection Papers, dated 1804-67, relating to Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Jones, Bombay Army 1770-1812, mainly concerning the second Maratha War (1803-05); together with family correspondence. 1 box Purchased in 1972. MSS.Eur.C.234.

Kellie Collection Papers, dated 1837-67, of Walter Coningsby Erskine, 12th Earl of Kellie, Bengal Army 1828-61, Commissioner of Jubbulpore 1860-61. 3 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by the Earl of Mar and Kellie in 1959. MSS.Eur. D. 597.

Laithwaite Collection Papers, dated 1912-71, of Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, Private Secretary to the Viceroy 1936-43, Permanent Secretary at the Commonwealth Relations Office 1955-59. 4 trunks. Deposited on permanent loan by Sir Gilbert Laithwaite between 1968 and 1974. MSS.Eur. F.138*

La Touche Collection Letters, dated 1883-1910, of Thomas Henry Digges La Touche, Geological Survey of India 1881-1910, and other members of his family. 1 trunk Presented by Mr. M.C.D. La Touche in 1974. MSS. Eur. C. 258.

Lloyd Collection Papers of Lady Lloyd, wife of Sir Alan Lloyd, Indian Civil Service 1907-47, on European cemeteries in India; and biographical information on British people in India collected by Brigadier Humphry Bullock. 22 volumes, 7 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Mr. R.S. Drake, Lady Lloyd's executor, in 1968. MSS. Eur. F. 146.

Lytton Collections. Papers, dated 1857-91, of the 1st Earl of Lytton, Viceroy 1876-80. 16 boxes, 118 volumes. Deposited on permanent loan by Lady Hermione Cobbold in 1956 and 1973. MSS. Eur. F. 218 and MSS. Eur. F. 160.

Malet Collection Papers, dated 1770-1813, of Sir Charles Malet, 1st Baronet, Bombay Civil Service 1770-98, Resident at Poona 1786-97, and Member of the Bombay Council 1797-98. 86 volumes. Purchased in 1969. MSS. Eur. F. 149.

Maughan Collection Papers, dated 1815-1924, relating to Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Maughan, Bombay Army 1821-61 and of his wife Mermanjan. 2 boxes. Presented by Mrs. D.P.G. Line in 1969. MSS. Eur. E. 304.

Monro Collection Letters and papers, dated c 1900-46, of General Sir Charles Monro, Commander-in-Chief India 1916-20, and of his wife, the Hon. Lady Monro, nee O'Hagan. 1 box, 3 volumes. Presented by the Hon. Mrs Richard Coke in 1972. MSS. Eur. D. 783.

Moorsom Collection Papers, dated 1822-1917, of Captain William Robert Moorsom (1834-58), HM 52nd Regiment; and of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Martin Moorsom (1839-1921), Rifle Brigade, and other members of the Moorsom family. 5 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Mr. T.P.W. Longmore in 1968. MSS. Eur. F. 299.

Mudie Collection Papers, dated 1927-48, of Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of Sind 1946-47; Governor of West Punjab 1947-49. 8 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Sir Francis and Lady Mudie in 1973. MSS. Eur. F. 164.

Munro Collection Papers, dated 1779-1827, of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, 1st Baronet, Madras Army 1780-1827, and Governor of Madras 1820-27. 38 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Sir Torquil Munro in 1970. MSS. Eur. F. 151.

Raffles Family Collection Papers, dated c 1799-1957 relating to the career of Sir Stamford Raffles, East India Company Services 1795-1824, Lieutenant-Governor of Java 1811-16 and Governor of Benkulen 1818-25; also papers of his second wife, Sophia, nee Hull, and other members of the family. 6 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Mrs. M.P.Drake and Mr. J.R.E.Drake in 1969. MSS. Eur. D. 742.

Raffles Minto Collection Letters, minutes and reports, dated 1808-14, sent by Sir Stamford Raffles, East India Company Services 1795-1824 and Lieutenant-Governor of Java 1811-16, to the 1st Earl of Minto, Governor-General 1807-13. 48 volumes. Purchased in 1969. MSS. Eur. F. 148.

Rance Collection Papers, dated 1945-72, of Major General Sir Hubert Rance, Director of Civil Affairs, Burma 1945-46, and Governor of Burma 1946-48. 4 boxes. Presented by Sir Hubert Rance in 1972 and by Lady Rance 1974. MSS. Eur. E. 169.

Lady Reading Collection Letters, dated 1921-25, written from India by Alice, Marchioness of Reading, wife of the 1st Marquess of Reading, Viceroy 1921-26. 2 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by the 3rd Marquess of Reading in 1972. MSS.Eur.F.316

Royal Society for India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Papers, dated 1870-1964, of the Royal Society for India, Pakistan and Ceylon and of the earlier societies which united to form it, namely the East India Association, the National Indian Association and the India Society. 21 volumes, 15 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by the Council of the Royal Society for India, Pakistan and Ceylon in 1968. MSS.Eur. F. 147.

Shuttleworth Collection Papers, dated 1909-46, relating to the works on Tibet by Henry Lee Hadwen Shuttleworth, Indian Civil Service 1906-23; also photographs of Tibet. 2 boxes. Presented by Mrs. I.E.D. Shuttleworth in 1967. MSS. Eur. D. 722.

Skelton Collection Papers, dated 1769-1873, of members of the Pittman and Skelton families; including Captain Philip Pittman, Madras Engineers 1700-75; Lieutenant-General John Skelton, Bombay Army 1780-1816, Lieutenant-Governor of St. Helena 1813-16; and his sons, George Skelton, Madras Civil Service 1829-45; Charles Skelton, Madras Civil Service 1830-36; and John Skelton, Madras Cavalry 1834-37. 4 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Miss P.M. Powell in 1974. MSS. Eur. F. 334.

Skrine Collection Papers, dated 1912-52, of Sir Clarmont Skrine, Indian Civil Service 1912-48, Indian Political Service 1915-48. 6 boxes. Deposited on permanent loan by Sir Clarmont Skrine in 1970. MSS. Eur. F. 154.*

Smith Collection Correspondence, dated 1774-1889, of Robert Percy Smith, Advocate-General of Bengal 1803-10; Cecil Smith, Madras Civil Service 1789-1813; Courtenay Smith, Bengal Civil Service 1792-1830, and other members of the Smith family. 4 boxes. Purchased in 1973. MSS. Eur. C. 247.

Sorabji Collection Papers, dated 1882-1954, of Cornelia Sorabji, Lady Assistant to the Courts of Wards in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam 1910-22. 15 boxes. Presented by Mr. William Rathbone in 1973. MSS. Eur. F. 165.

Tasker Collection Papers, dated 1927-72, of Sir Theodore Tasker, Indian Civil Service 1908-44, seconded to the Government of the Nizam of Hyderabad 1927-42. 3 boxes. Presented by Sir Theodore Tasker in 1972. MSS. Eur. D. 798.*